Indian Theological Library

History of Christianity in India:

Source Materials

M.K. Kuriakose

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Compiled by

M.K. Kuriakose

Published for

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General Editor's Preface

History of Christianity in India: Source Materials compiled by M.K. Kuriakose has proved to be a useful book to the beginner in theology. We acknowledge our gratitude to Fr. M.K. Kuriakose, Bangalore for this book. To cope up with the growing demand for this book across the country, we bring out the second edition of this book now.

We welcome suggestions to revise the book to suit our contextual need and the ITL will aid any such attempt aimed at revision. Meantime, we are glad that we are able to bring out this new edition. We record our appreciation to the staff of the ISPCK, especially its General Secretary/Director (Officiating) Revd. Ashish Amos for helping us to bring out this edition.

Rev. Dr. Franklyn J. Balasundaram
General Editor, ITL
United Theological College
Bangalore 560 046
February, 1999

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Some years ago the Indian Theological Library published *A Handbook of Source Materials for Students of Church History* which provides in an inexpensive form primary sources on the early history of Christianity. It contains some sources related to the St. Thomas tradition but otherwise, like other collections available to students of church history, it has very little material on India.

Teachers of the history of Christianity in India as well as other scholars of the subject have long felt the need for a collection of sources that would document the long and rich history of Christianity in this country. While the present work is by no means complete it makes an important beginning. It is to be hoped that it will be followed by even more comprehensive collections.

Very few, if any, collections of this sort exist for the documentation of the history of Christianity in countries of the Third World. If these volumes inspire scholars elsewhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America to undertake similar compilations this work will have made a very important contribution to a balanced study of the history of Christianity as a whole.

The Indian Theological Library is grateful to the United Theological College, Bangalore, for having sponsored this project, and to Fr. M. K. Kuriakose for having given two years of full-time work to collecting and editing the materials.

Dr. Frederick S. Downs,
General Editor.

June, 1978

COMPILER'S PREFACE

The United Theological College faculty had in mind for a long time the compilation of source materials on the history of Christianity in India. I was privileged to be given the responsibility for undertaking this work. Though there are many collections of source materials on the general history of Christianity, no attempt has been made previously to make such a collection in relation to Christianity in India exclusively. As a first attempt it cannot claim perfection.

Obviously everything of worth cannot be included. In order to get as balanced a selection as possible I sent requests for suggestions to a large number of scholars of Christianity in India, representing different denominational traditions. As one would expect, the response was uneven. Some gave many helpful suggestions; others did not reply.

The selection of sources from the early and medieval period was comparatively easy. Selection from the vast quantities of sources available for the modern period has been much more difficult. I would hope that future revisions of the book will be able to incorporate other sources, as suggested by scholars.

In this book only published sources have been included.

This is the result of two years' work, which is insufficient time for the purpose. Whatever success I have achieved is due to the guidance of the Department of the History of Christianity, United Theological College, Bangalore, including Dr. Fr. A. M. Mundadan of Dharmaram College, Bangalore. I am especially grateful to Dr. F. S. Downs, who was Chairman of this project and encouraged me at every stage, giving valuable advice. He also typed the final draft and edited the whole. I am also grateful to all the scholars, who extended their help by giving information about sources; and to my wife who typed the first draft of the manuscript.

Fr. M. K. Kuriakose

Bangalore

DEPARTMENTAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

For many years the Church History Department of the United Theological College, Bangalore, has felt the need of a source book for students of the history of Christianity in India. In 1975 the project was finally begun with the appointment of Fr. M. K. Kuriakose as Research Assistant. A committee was formed to lay down general guidelines and to advise the compiler. It consisted of the members of the Department, Rev. S. Immanuel David and myself, together with the eminent Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Fr. A. M. Mundadan of the Dharmaram Pontifical Institute, Bangalore. During the two years in which Fr. Kuriakose worked full-time on the project he consulted numerous books and manuscripts in libraries in various parts of the country. He also consulted with scholars representing different denominational traditions.

It is recognised that the present work is by no means complete. We have attempted to include materials representative of important developments with, in the modern period, special emphasis upon materials of ecumenical and national significance, including sources that reflect the attitude of members of other faiths to Christianity. Only those who have attempted such a project can fully appreciate the difficulties involved. Undoubtedly there will be many scholars who think, not without justice, that important materials have been left out, and important traditions unrepresented or underrepresented. Nevertheless we have made a beginning and will think our labour amply rewarded if it stimulates interest in making larger and more complete collections.

It was decided that the sources should be arranged chronologically rather than topically. Insofar as any given source is likely to touch upon several different topics, it would be necessary, if the collection were organised topically, to break up a source and distribute its various parts. While topical organisation, such as that used in Young's *Handbook of Source Materials for Students of Church History*, has its advantages in bringing together in one place material relating to a common subject, it was felt by the committee that this approach has the serious disadvantage of removing a particular portion of a source from its context. Also a topical approach would be extremely difficult in a source collection that covers some nineteen centuries. At the same time it was decided that if the collection were to be useful to scholars it would be necessary to have an extensive index, including topical references. The titles of the sources themselves can be found in the table of

contents. A complete bibliographical listing of works in which the sources may be found also is included.

Finally, a word of thanks to those who have been involved in the project. I would like to express here my personal appreciation to Fr. Kuriakose for his painstaking work in collecting and editing the material. Most of the work is his. I would also like to thank the members of the project committee for their interest and valuable suggestions. The United Theological College must be thanked for approving the project and for providing the salary of the Research Assistant for two years. Completion of the project would have been extremely difficult if not impossible if someone had not been able to give full-time to it. I would also like to thank Dr. H. Grafe, a former member of our Department, for having made funds available to meet travel and other expenses involved. Thanks, too, to the Co-ordinating Committee of the Indian Theological Library for agreeing to publish the collection.

Prof. Frederick S. Downs,
Department of Church History,
United Theological College,
Bangalore.

November, 1977

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1. TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA IN THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Strabo, who lived during the time of Augustus, makes reference to trade between the Roman Empire and India. *Strabo*, 2.5.12. (5 A.D.) A short account is found in J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 98. A detailed discussion of the subject is found in the first five chapters of A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*.

I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-Hormos to India.

Pliny the Elder (23/24-79 A.D.) mentions voyages from the Roman Empire to India and the pepper trade. *Pliny*, 6.26. His writing on the subject is referred to in H. Wilfred Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. p. 232.

The age that followed pointed out a shorter route, and a safer one to those who might happen to sail from the same promontory for Sergius, a port in India ; and for a long time this route was followed, until at last a still shorter cut was discovered by a merchant, and the thirst for gain brought India even still nearer to us. At the present-day voyages are made to India every year . . .

Pliny, 12.14. Schoff, p. 214.

It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that in other substances which we use, it is sometimes their sweetness, and some times their appearance that has attracted our notice ; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency ; and it is for this that we import it all the way from India !

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (c. 50 A.D.), a travel account by an unknown author, also refers to trade between Rome and India. *Periplus*, 52. Schoff, p. 43.

The market-towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza : Suppara, and the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town ; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard.

2. THE ACTS OF THOMAS (180-230 A.D.)

The Acts of Thomas was originally written in Syriac and was later translated into Greek. It is usually dated between 180 and 230 A.D. Authorship has been attributed to Bardesanes. Though mainly legendary it contains some historical references. The whole document consists of thirteen Acts, including accounts of St. Thomas' journey from Jerusalem to India, and his work there up till his martyrdom. The English version used here is from Edger Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Vol. II, pp. 442 ff.

1. At that time we apostles were all in Jerusalem, Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the publican, James (the son) of Alphaeus and Simon the Cananaean, and Judas (the brother) of James ; and we divided the regions of the world, that each one of us might go to the region which fell to his lot, and to the nation to which the Lord sent him. According to lot, India fell to Judas Thomas, who is also (called) Didymus ; but he did not wish to go, saying that through weakness of the flesh he could not travel, and : ' How can I, who am a Hebrew, go and preach the truth among the Indians ? ' And as he considered and said this, the Saviour appeared to him by night and said to him : ' Fear not, Thomas, go to India and preach the word there, for my grace is with thee.' But he would not obey and said : ' Send me where thou wilt — but somewhere else ! For I am not going to the Indians.'

2. And as he thus spoke and thought, it happened that a certain merchant was there who had come from India. His name was Abban and he had been sent by king Gundaphorus and had received orders from him to buy a carpenter and bring him back to him . . .

3. On the following morning the apostle prayed and besought the Lord, and said : ' I go wither thou wilt, Lord Jesus ; thy will be done ! ' and he went off to Abban the merchant . . .

17. But when the apostle came to the cities of India with Abban the merchant, Abban went off to salute King Gundaphorus, and reported to him concerning the carpenter whom he had brought with him . . .

62. While the apostle Thomas was proclaiming the word of God in all India, a certain captain of king Misdaeus (Mazdais) came to him and said to him : ' I have heard concerning thee that thou dost not take any reward of any man, but whatever thou hast thou dost give to the needy. For if thou didst take rewards, I would have sent much money and would not have come hither

myself, for the king takes no action without me. For I have many possessions and am rich, one of the wealthy in India . . .

159. And after these things Judas went to be imprisoned . . .

164. During these words Misdaeus was considering in what manner he should be put to death. . . . And arising he took Judas with him outside the city ; and a few armed soldiers followed him . . .

168. . . . And at once the four smote him and slew him. But all the brethren wept. And wrapping in fine robes and many fine linen clothes they laid him in the tomb in which the kings of old were buried . . .

170. But after a long time had passed it befell that one of Misdaeus' sons was possessed by a demon ; and since the demon was stubborn no-one was able to heal him. But Misdaeus pondered and said : ' I will go and open the tomb, and take (one of the bones of the apostle) of God, and fasten it upon my son, and I know that he will be healed. . . . But Misdaeus did not find the bones ; for one of the brethren had stolen them away, and carried them to the regions of the west . . .

3. ORIGEN ON ST. THOMAS' MISSION IN PARTHIA (185-230-254 A.D.)

In his *Church History*, Eusebius (265-340 A.D.) quotes Origen's statement concerning the mission of the apostles in different parts of the world (*Commentary on Genesis, Vol. III*) including reference to St. Thomas' preaching in Parthia. Eusebius, Book III, Chapter I. From Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I, p. 132.

Meanwhile the holy apostles and disciples of our Saviour were dispersed throughout the world. Parthia, according to tradition, was allotted to Thomas as his field of labour.

4. BISHOP DUDI OF BASRA IN INDIA, 295-300 A.D.

A brief reference to an evangelistic tour by Bishop Dudi (291-325) suggests a close relationship between the Church in India and the Church in the Persian Empire by the end of the third century. Mingana cities this passage from the *Chronicle of Sa'ard*. Cited in William G. Young, *Handbook of Source Materials for Students of Church History*, p. 27.

During the Patriarchate of Shahlufa and Papa, Dudi (David), Bishop of Basra on the Persian Gulf, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to India, where he evangelised many people.

5. EUSEBIUS ON PANTAENUS' VISIT TO INDIA (c. 303 A.D.)

Eusebius, Book V, Chapter 10. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

. . . Pantaenus was at that time especially conspicuous, as he had been educated in the philosophical system of those called Stoics. They say that he displayed such zeal for the divine word, that he was appointed as a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations in the far East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were still many evangelists of the Word who sought earnestly to use their inspired zeal, after the examples of the apostles, for the increase and building up of the Divine Word. Pantaenus was one of these, and is said to have gone to India. It is reported that among persons there who knew of Christ, he found the Gospel according to Matthew, which had anticipated his own arrival. For Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them, and left with them the writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language, which they had preserved till that time.

6. JEROME ON THE VISIT OF PANTAENUS TO INDIA (340-420 A.D.)

Jerome, III, Chapter 36. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Vol. 1, p. 370.

Pantaenus, a philosopher of the Stoic School, according to some old Alexandrian custom, where from the time of Mark the evangelist the ecclesiastics were always doctors, was of so great prudence and erudition both in scripture and secular literature that, on the request of the legates of that nation, he was sent to India by Demettrius bishop of Alexandria, where he found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, had preached the advent of the Lord Jesus according to the Gospel of Matthew, and on his return to Alexandria he brought this with him written in Hebrew characters.

7. HYMNS OF EPHRAIM (306-373 A.D.)

Ephraim was a famous poet of the Christian Church who spent ten years at Edessa, where the relics of St. Thomas were said to be entombed. His Nisibene Hymns throw light upon the removal of the relics from India to Edessa. *Hymn*, 42.1,2,3. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. XIII, p. 205.

1. . . . The Apostle whom I slew in India is before me in Edessa : he is here wholly and also there . . .

2. The bones that merchantmen carried, or was it then that they carried him ? . . .

3. . . . That merchant made gain, and waxed great and reigned. His storehouse has made me very poor : his storehouse has been opened in Edessa, and has enriched the great city with benefit.

Ephraim's hymns 'On Thomas the Apostle' testify to the tradition of St. Thomas' mission in India. A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 26ff, 29ff.

XI. Blessed art thou Thomas, the Twin, in thy deeds twin is thy spiritual power ; nor one thy power, nor one thy name :

XIV. Blessed art thou whom the Great King hath sent, that India to his One-Begotten thou shouldest espouse ; above snow and linen white, thou the dark bride didst make fair . . .

XVII. Blessed art thou, O Thrice-Blessed City ! that hast acquired the pearl, none greater doth India yield . .

I. The One-Begotten his Apostles chose,
Among them Thomas, whom he sent
To baptise peoples perverse, in darkness steeped.
A dark night then India's land enveloped,
Like the sun's ray Thomas did dart forth ;
There he dawned, and her illumined.

V. The client of Thomas needs not men his praises to sing :
Great is the crowd of his martyred followers.
Lo, his Bones, his Passion, his work proclaim ;
His Miracles, him yet alive assert ;
His deeds the rough Indian convinced.
Who dares doubt the truth of his Relics ?

8. GREGORY NAZIANZEN ON ST. THOMAS' APOSTOLATE TO INDIA (329-390 A.D.)

Gregory Nazianzen associates St. Thomas with India in his *Against Arians*, XXXIII, Para XI. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII, p. 332.

. . . Be it that Judaea is Peter's home ; what has Paul in common with the gentiles, Luke with Achaia, Andrew with Epirus, John with Ephesus, Thomas with India, Mark with Italy, or the rest not to go into particulars, with those to whom they went ? . . .

See also Jerome's letter to Marcella, No. LIX, 395/396. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Vol. VI, p. 123.

9. AMBROSE ON CHRISTIAN CONTACTS WITH INDIA (333-397 A.D.)

The reference to Brahmins in Ambrose of Milan's treatise *De Moribus Brachmanorum* makes it clear that the reference is to the Indian subcontinent. His knowledge of India was based upon the accounts of travellers as well as the Greek and Latin classics. *Patrologia Latina*, Migne Edition, 17.1131. Translation in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, pp. 56-57.

Since I, in fact, have not seen either them (Brahmins) or their country,— for they are separated from our Europe by a vast stretch of land—, I will try to narrate to you only those things I have heard from others and gathered from authors. . . First, therefore, our brother, Museus, the bishop of the Doleni, related to me that when going to the India, some years ago, with the intention of visiting the Brahmins he travelled through nearly the entire region of Serica.

Ambrose also identifies St. Thomas with India. *Patrologia Latina*, 14.1143. *Loc. cit.*

Even those kingdoms which were shut out by rugged mountains became accessible to them, as India to Thomas, Persia to Matthew . . .

Again he refers to the journey of a certain Theban to India. *Patrologia Latina*, 17.1133. *Loc. cit.*

Wherefore, he going on board a ship with some merchants in the Erythraean Sea or Mare Rubrum sailed first to the gulf of Adulis, saw the town of Adulitans, then the promontory of Aromata, and came to the emporium of the Troglodytes ; thence he touched the lands of the Auxumitans, whence he sailed with favourable winds. After many days' voyage he came to Muziris, the emporium of all India on this side of the Ganges.

10. RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO INDIA (345-410 A.D.)

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, 1.9, Rufinus describes the work of Frumentius in what is clearly the Indian subcontinent. It should be noted that the author believes that evangelistic work was not done there prior to the time of Constantine. An account may be found in Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1. XIX. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. II, p. 23.

We must now mention in what manner Christianity was spread in this emperor's (Constantine) reign : for it was in his time that the nations both of the Indians in the interior, and of the Iberians first embraced the Christian faith. But I shall briefly explain why

I have used the appended expression 'in the interior'. When the apostles went forth by lot among the nations, Thomas received the apostleship of the Parthians; Mathew was allotted Ethiopia; and Bartholomew the part of India contiguous to that country: but the interior India, in which many barbarious nations using different languages lived, was not enlightened by Christian doctrine before the times of Constantine. I now come to speak of the cause which led them to become converts to Christianity. A certain philosopher, Meropius, a Tyrian by race, determined to acquaint himself with the country of the Indians, being stimulated to this by the example of the philosopher Metrodorus, who had previously travelled through the region of India. Having taken with him therefore two youths to whom he was related, who were by no means ignorant of the Greek language, Meropius reached the country by ship; and when he had inspected whatever he wished, he touched at a certain place which had a safe harbor, for the purpose of procuring some necessaries. It so happened that a little before that time the treaty between the Romans and Indians had been violated. The Indians, therefore, having seized the philosophor and those who sailed with him, killed them all except his two youthful kinsmen; but sparing them from compassion for their tender age, they sent them as a gift to the king of the Indians. He being pleased with the personal appearance of the youths, constituted one of them, whose name was Edesius, cup-bearer at his table; the other, named Frumentius, he entrusted with the care of the royal records. The king dying soon after, left them free, the government devolving on his wife and infant son. Now the queen seeing her son thus left in his minority, begged the young men to undertake the charge of him, until he should become of adult age. Accordingly, the youths accepted the task, and entered on the administration of the kingdom. Thus Frumentius controlled all things and made it a task to enquire whether among the Roman merchants trafficking with that country there were any Christians to be found: and having discovered some, he informed them who he was, and exhorted them to select and occupy some appropriate places for the celebration of Christian worship. In the course of a little while he built a house of prayer; and having instructed some of the Indians in the principles of Christianity, they fitted them for participation in the worship. On the young king's reaching maturity, Frumentius and his associates resigned to him the administration of public affairs, in the management of which they had honorably acquitted themselves, and besought permission to return to their own country. Both the king and his mother entreated them to remain; but being desirous of revisiting their native place, they could not be prevailed on, and consequently departed. Edesius for his part hastened to Tyre to see his parents and kindred; but Frumentius arriving at Alexandria, reported the affairs to Athanasius the bishop, who had but recently been invested with dignity; and acquainted

him both with the particulars of his wanderings and the hopes Indians had of receiving Christianity. He also begged him to send a bishop and clergy there, and by no means to neglect those who might thus be brought to salvation. Athanasius having considered how this could be most profitably effected, requested Frumentius himself to accept the bishopric, declaring that he could appoint no one more suitable than he was. Accordingly this was done ; Frumentius invested with episcopal authority, returned to India and became there a preacher of the Gospel, and built several churches, being aided also by divine grace, he performed various miracles, healing with the souls also the bodily diseases of many. Rufinus assures us that he heard these facts from Edesius, who was afterwards ordained to the priesthood at Tyre.

11. GREGORY OF TOURS ON THE REMAINS OF ST. THOMAS (538-593 A.D.)

Gregory received information concerning the tomb of St. Thomas in India from a pilgrim named Theodore who had visited it. *Miraculorum Liber*, 1.32. *Patrologia Latina*, 71.733. Cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, p. 75.

His (Thomas') holy remains after a long time were removed to the city of Edessa in Syria and there interred. In that part of India where they first rested, stands a monastery church of striking dimensions . . . This Theodore who had been to the place narrated to us.

12. COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES ON CHRISTIANS IN INDIA (c. 547 A.D.)

Cosmas travelled to India in c. 520-525 A.D. He was a Nestorian Christian. He wrote a book, *Christian Topography*, in which he gave details concerning the Christians he found in Malabar and Sri Lanka. The extract is from *Christian Topography*, III. 178. English translations are found in J.W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, p. 118 ff, and B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, Vol. III, p. 31.

Even in Taprobene (Ceylon), an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether thereby any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Calliana (Quilon) there is moreover a bishop, who is appointed from Persia. In the island again called the island of Dioscorides

(Socotra), which is situated in the same Indian sea, and where the inhabitants speak Greek having been originally colonists sent thither by the Ptolemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their ordination in Persia, and are sent on to the island, and there is also a multitude of Christians. I sailed along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people, who had come over into Ethiopia. And so likewise among the Bactrians, and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians, and throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs, and monks also living as hermits.

13. STONE CROSS INSCRIPTIONS (6th or 7th Cent. A.D.)

Five stone crosses, probably the earliest physical remains of Christianity in India, have been discovered in South India of which three crosses bear inscriptions on them. Two of these are in the Valiyapally, Kottayam, and one is at the traditional site of the martyrdom of St. Thomas at St. Thomas Mount, Madras. The design of these crosses as well as the inscriptions on them are identical. Dr. Burnell assigns them to the sixth or seventh century A.D., on palaeographical grounds. A translation of the Pahlavi inscriptions, by Burnell, may be seen in M. Labbe Hue, *Christianity in China, Tartary and Tibet*, Vol. I, p. 27, cited in E. M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*, p. 92.

In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this one ; He who is true God, and God above, and guide ever pure.

A different translation is given by C. P. T. Winkworth in 'A New Interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross-Inscriptions,' *Kerala Society Papers* Series 3, pp. 166-168.

My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chaharbukt, the Syrian, who cut this.

The second cross at the Valiyapally bears a Syriac verse from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Chapter 6, vs. 14.

Let me not glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In 1922 a stone cross at Kadamattam Orthodox Church caught the attention of scholars. The Pahlavi inscription on this cross is different from that on the others. A translation by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi is cited in H. Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, p. 332.

I, a beautiful bird from Nineve, (have come) to this country.
Written by Mar Shapur.
Holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed me from thorn (i.e., affliction);

14. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON EASTERN GEOGRAPHY AND BARTHOLOMEW'S MISSION IN INDIA (c. 638 A.D.)

Isidore's writings reveal the extent of European knowledge about India in the seventh century A.D. and the tradition that the Apostle Bartholomew came to India. He also is familiar with the tradition of St. Thomas' martyrdom in India. Extract from *Etymol. Liber.* 14.3.5-6. *Patrologia Latina*, 82.497. Translation cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, p. 37.

India derives its name from the river Indus, by which it is enclosed on the West. It stretches out from the southern area to the rising of the sun, and it extends on the North as far as the Caucasus mountain. It has many nations, towns and also the island of Taprobane which is filled with elephants. It has (the islands of) Chryse and Argyra which are rich in gold and silver, and also (the island of) Tyle which is never wanting in foliage. It has both rivers Ganges and Indus and Hyphasis which make the Indian famous.

Etymol. Liber., 14.3.15. *Patrologia Latina*, 82.498. Cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, p. 44.

This Thomas preached the Gospel of Christ to the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians, the Hyrcanians and the Bactrians, and to the Indians of the Oriental region and penetrating the innermost regions and sealing his preaching by his passion he died transfixed with a lance at Calamina, a city of India, and there was buried with honour.

De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, 74.132. *Patrologia Latina*, 83.152. Cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, p. 65.

Bartholomew the Apostle . . . translated the Gospel of Matthew among the Indians into their own language. Finally he was flayed alive by cruel and barbarous people in Albano, a city of Major Armenia ; and so he is buried there.

15. THE COPPER PLATES (849 A.D.)

Grants made by Ayyanadikal, King of Venad, to the new church at Quilon (built by Marwan Sabriso) in 849 A.D. were inscribed on two sets of copper plates, known as the *Tarisapalli copper plates*. These are mostly written in Tamil-Malayalam, but two plates are in Pahlavi and Arabic. Of the two sets, the first consists of three plates. One of these is in the custody of the Orthodox Church, another is in the custody of the Mar Thoma Church, and the third is lost. A translation is found in Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, pp. 371-373. Both sets, constituting the earliest details concerning the Christian community in India from India itself, provide valuable information concerning the high social position enjoyed by Christians in that part of India at that time.

Hail Prosperity ! This is the 5th regnal year of King Sthanu Ravi who has many hundreds of thousands of years to rule, vanquishing his enemies. In this year Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi, ruler of Venad, in consultation with his officers, ministers, the representatives of the Anjuvannam and Manigramam, and the chief of Punnathala, granted this Viduperu to the Tarisappally built by Eso da Tapir at Kurakkeni Kollam. Four families of Ezhavas, in which there are eight toddy tappers (the total numbering twelve) and one family of washermen should be exempted from the payment of taxes on profession, tax on thatching houses, aids for wearing ornaments and for performing marriages, Iravuchoru (forced tax in times of famine) and the sales tax on oil at the rate of one nazhi per kudam (pot). The rights of Varakkol, Kappam and Panchakandi previously granted to the church are granted by me also. All taxes to be paid by these four Ezhava families and one washerman family are hereby granted, by deed engraved on copper plate, to the Tarisapally. The Ezhavas are permitted to take their carts inside the fort and the bazaar for trading purposes. The washerman is also permitted to carry on his profession within the bazaar and the fort. The Police officer, the Fort officer, and any other government official shall not prevent them on any account. The church shall enquire into any crime committed by these people. These rights granted as Attiperu by this copper plate shall be enjoyed so long as the earth, moon and the sun last. Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi made this grant to the Tarisappalli through the efforts of Maruvan Sapir Eso. Christ will bless those who protect this grant. Signed Ayyan. Witnesses : Velkula Sundaran. Vijaya . . .

The second set consists of four plates, of which three are in the custody of the Orthodox Church and one is in the custody of the Mar Thoma Church. A translation is given in Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, pp. 373-375. Cited in C. V. Cheriyan, *A History of Christianity in Kerala*, pp. 112-115.

Two families . . . four families of Vellalas and one family of wood cutters shall cultivate the land. They all shall cultivate the land of the Tevar (Christ) and supply to the church without fail oil and other necessaries. This land was granted to the Tarisappally through Maruvan Sapir Eso who founded this merchant guild. The boundaries of this land are fixed in the presence of and in consultation with the Koyiladhikari Vijayaraga Tevar, Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi, Rama Tiruvadi (the crown-prince), ministers, officers, the Six Hundred, the chief of Punnathala and the chief of Polai family. The boundaries are marked by walking a she-elephant with earth and water around the property. The eastern limit of the land is Vayalkad, including the lake, the south-east boundary is the Chiruvatilkal wall and the ocean in the west Toranathottam is the northern limit and Andilanthottam of Punnathala is the north-eastern boundary. The land within these boundaries is granted perman-

nently so long as the earth, moon and the sun exist, after consulting Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi, Rama Tiruvadi and the Koyiladhikari. The church alone shall collect taxes on professions. Our officers and others . . . shall not go. The church and the land shall be protected by the Anjuvannam and the Manigramam. The Anjuvannam and Manigramam are bound to act according to instructions contained in the copper plates so long as the earth, moon and the sun exist. This is granted as Viduperu to the Tarisapally in the presence of Vijayaraga Tevar, the Koyiladhikari, Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi and Rama Tiruvadi. Tax of 1/60 shall not be collected when goods are brought in. No tax shall be collected on sale of goods. Slave tax shall not be imposed on the slaves bought by the church. A tax of 8 Kasu can be collected from vehicles when they come as well as when they go ; 4 Kasu can be collected from the boats when they come and go. Tax on taxable commodities shall be determined in the presence of the church representatives. When prices are fixed as well as when any matter relating to the King is decided, representatives of the church must be consulted. Daily tax collection shall be kept sealed by the Anjuvannam and the Manigramam. If the land within these four boundaries granted to the church is given Karabmai, the King's share of 1/10 shall be paid to the general treasury and the share of 1/10 to the chieftain shall be collected by the Anjuvannam and the Manigramam. Seventy-two privileges (usually granted to high dignitaries)—carrying earth and water on the back of the elephant on marriage occasions and others are granted to the church as Viduperu, in the presence of the Koyiladhikarikal Vijayaraga Tevar, and with the consent of Ayyanadikal Tiruvadi, Rama Tiruvadi, ministers, officers, the Six Hundred and the chiefs of Punnathala and Polakudi. These privileges mentioned in the copper plate grant shall be enjoyed permanently so long as the earth, moon and the sun last. If the church has any complaint, the Anjuvannam and the Manigramam shall even suspend the payment of tolls, customs duties and sales taxes, and settle the complaint. If the Anjuvannam and Manigramam which are entrusted with the protection of this guild commit any crime it shall be remedied by themselves. Both of them shall jointly act which alone shall be binding. Sapir Eso who founded this guild and who became its owner shall keep the Varakkol and Panchakandi already received by the church. He shall weigh the articles and the church shall be given the weighing charges. This right is also granted by me permanently so long as the earth, sun and moon last, to be enjoyed by succeeding generations . . .

16. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE WITH REFERENCE TO THE TRADITION OF ST. THOMAS AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S APOSTOLATE IN INDIA (883 A.D.)

James Ingram (trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chrorincle*, p. 68.

This year went the army up the Scheldt to Conde, and there sat a year. And Pope Marinus sent King Alfred the *Lignum domni*. The same year led Sighelm and Athelstan to Rome the alms which King Alfred ordered thither, and also in India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew. Then they sat against the army at London ; and there, with favour of God, they were very successful after the performances of their vows.

17. WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY ON THE ST. THOMAS TRADITION (1114-1123 A.D.)

Chronicle of the Kings of England, p. 118, cited in C. P. Mathew and M. M. Thomas, *The Indian Churches of St. Thomas*, p. 9.

Ever intent on almsgiving, he confirmed the privileges of the churches as appointed by his father and sent many presents overseas to Rome and St. Thomas in India. Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne sent an ambassador for this purpose, who penetrated successfully into India . . . Returning thence, he brought back many brilliant exotic gems and aromatic juices in which that country abounds.

18. ST. THOMAS' APPARITIONS ON HIS FEAST (c. 1122 A.D.)

This writing, reflecting upon the legendary materials of *The Acts of Thomas*, is first mentioned in an account of a visit to Rome by the Patriarch of the Indies c. 1122 A.D. The complete account can be seen in H. Hosten, *Antiquites from San Thome and Myalpore*, pp. 286-288.

Holy Thomas, prince of the world, grant, I beseech thee, that I may not be confounded because of the weight of my offences : grant that I may ever extol worthily thy dignity and piously invoke thy name.

At the nuptial feast, O heavenly muser, thou eatest and drinkest naught ; but, looking always up to heaven, thou afflictest thy body and blessest chastity.

With the treasures given thee, kind father of the poor, thou buildest a palace and raisest to life the king's own brother, and thus presently thou winnest over the king himself and his people.

Thus, curing all the sick, thou passest preaching everywhere. Next thou art pierced with lances and crowned a martyr.

Thou despisest error ; thou destroyest unbelievers : for, in the city where thou truly liest, there never lives any of the heretics, Jews, or pagans.

And this happens openly every year on thy feast. Truly, such wonder chances to no other saint.

19. VEERA RAGHAVA PATTAYAM, COPPER PLATE GRANT TO IRAVI KORTAN (1225 A.D.)

This copper plate grant was given by King Veera Raghava to one Iravi Kortan, who was apparently the head of the Christian merchants. They are at present under the custody of the Orthodox Church. They are written in Tamil-Malayalam. A translation is available in Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, pp. 125-126, and in the words of Kookel Kelu Nair in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. Cited in C. V. Cherian, *A History of Christianity in Kerala*, pp. 118-119.

Beginning from Sri Veera Kerala, the Earth Ruler, the Man-Lord, the Emperor, the sceptre has been swayed through a regular succession of many hundred thousands of years, when Sri Veera Raghava Chukravurthi (the Emperor Veera Raghava) was in possession of the country and was seated in the Royal Palace, (the following grant was made) in the year when Jupiter was in Capricornus on the twenty-first of the month of Meenam, Saturday, when, (as it is further implied) Saturn was in Pisces and the day of Rohini the fourth Asterism. We have given Manigramam (the village called Mani) to Iravi Kortan (Curten) of the town of Mahadevor, the grand Chettiar (merchant) of the Cheraman's country. We have also given to him the right of Peelavata, of having Pavanatungum house Pillar and of receiving /Purooperooma and Kadatoo and further the honour of having Valinchiyem and Tanichett in Valinchiyam and moreover of having the privileges of Moora Cholloo and Moomata and Puncha Vaddium and Changoo and Pakal Veluka and Pavata Aymtolom and Coda and Vadooca Para and Idopati and Toranom and Tanichett, over the four Cheries, in the city of Manigramam — moreover we have given him as slaves the oil manufacturers and the Ainkoody Cummalers, we have given to the Lord of the town, Iravi Kortan, the Taragoo and Choomkom of all that may be meted by the Para, weighed by the balance or

measured by the string, of all that may be counted or carried, in a word of all from salt to sugar, and from musk to lamp oil within the Codungalore harbour and the town between the four Talis and gramoms (villages) adjoining thereto, we have written and given the Copper Plate with water etc. to Iravi Kortan the Cheraman Lokaperroom Chettian and to his sons and sons' sons, in regular succession. With the knowledge of the Panniyoor and Chovoor Gramom we have given it ; with the knowledge of Venadoo and Onadoo have we given it ; with the knowledge of Eranadoo and Vulwanadoo have we given it ; we have given it for the time that Sun and Moon shall endure. With the knowledge of the above has this been written and engraved by the hand of Nambi Chadayen Grand Goldsmith of the Cheraman country.

20. MAR SOLOMON ON THE ST. THOMAS TRADITION (13th Cent. A.D.)

In his *Book of the Bee*, Mar Solomon, a Nestorian bishop, gives an account of the St. Thomas tradition. E. A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Book of the Bee*, p. 105. Cited in C. P. Mathew and M. M. Thomas, *The Indian Churches of St. Thomas*, p. 9.

Thomas was from Jerusalem of the tribe of Juda. He taught the Persians, Medes, and the Indians ; and because he baptized the daughter of the King of the Indians he stabbed him with a spear and he died. Habban the merchant brought his body and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of our Lord. Others say that he was buried in Mahluph, a city in the land of the Indians.

21. MARCO POLO ON THE TOMB OF ST. THOMAS (1292 A.D.)

Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, gives an account of his visit to the site of the tomb of St. Thomas in India. Yule, *The Book of Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, p. 341. Cited in G. M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, pp. 49-50.

Nothing on earth would induce them to enter the place—where Messer St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies, which is in a certain city of the province of Ma'bar. Indeed, were twenty or thirty men to lay hold of one of these *govis* and try to hold him in the place where the body of the blessed Apostle of Jesus Christ lies, they could not do it ! Such is the influence of the Saint ; for it was by people of this generation that he was slain.

22. FRIAR MENENTILLUS' LETTER FROM JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO ON THE CONDITION OF CHRISTIANS IN INDIA (c. 1292-1293 A.D.)

Friar Menentillus, a Dominican, forwarded a copy of a letter from John of Monte Corvino in which the condition of Christians in India is described. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III, p. 63.

The state of things as regards the inhabitants of India is as follows :—

. . . In the regions by the sea are many Saracenes, and they have great influence but there are few of them in the interior. There are a very few Christians, and Jews, and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians, and all who bear the Christian name.

23. JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO ON HIS VISIT TO INDIA (1305 A.D.)

John of Monte Corvino was a Franciscan who spent some time in India on his way to China. His letter from Peking, dated January 8, 1305, to the Minister-General of his order tells of his visit to India. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III, p. 45.

I, Friar John of Monte Corvino, of the order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291 and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons . . .

24. LETTERS OF FRIAR JORDANUS OF THANA (1321 A.D.)

Two letters of Friar Jordanus, the Dominican who remained to work in Thana, near the present Bombay, following the martyrdom of his companions, are extant. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III pp. 76 ff.

From the First Letter

All your venerable company of fathers is aware that I am left alone a poor pilgrim in India, where for my sins I have been allowed to survive after the passion of those blessed martyrs, Thomas the

holy, James the glorious, Peter and Demetrius. Nevertheless blessed over all be God who disposeth all things according to his will !

After their blessed martyrdom, which occurred on the Thursday before Palm Sunday in Thana of India, I baptized about ninety persons in a certain city called Parocco, ten days' journey distant therefrom, and I have since baptized more than twenty, besides thirty-five who were baptized between Thana and Supera. Praise be to Christ the creator of all things; if I had but a comrade I would abide for some time longer. But now I will get ready a church for the Friars who may be coming, and I will leave my things and those of the martyrs, and all our books.

From the Second letter

Let me tell you that the fame of us Latins is more highly thought of among the people of India than among us Latins ourselves. Nay, they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books. And, moreover, they are continually praying the Lord, after their manner, to hasten this wished-for arrival of the Latins. If our lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys on this sea, what a gain it would be ! And what damage and destruction to the Soldan of Alexandria ! O, who will tell this to his holiness the Pope ? For me, wayfarer that I am, 'tis out of the question. But I commit all to you, holy fathers. Fare ye well, then, holy fathers, and remember the pilgrim in your prayers. Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may all be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace. I end my words with many a sigh, most heartily recommending myself to the prayers of all.

Dated in Thana of India, the city where my holy comrades were martyred in the year of the Lord 1323, in the month of January, and on the feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian.

25. ODORIC OF PORDENONE ON CHRISTIANS IN INDIA (c. 1324 A.D.)

Odoric wrote an account of his travels in India, especially Malabar, Pandarani, Cranganore, Quilon and Mylapore in C. 1324. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. II, pp. 132 ff.

And now that ye may know how pepper is got, let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire whereunto I came to land, the name whereof is Minibar, and it groweth nowhere else in the world but there. And the forest in which the pepper groweth

extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey, and in that forest there be two cities, the one whereof is called Flandrina (Pandarani) and the other Cyngilin (Cranganore). In the city of Flandrina some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians ; and between those two cities there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat them and overcome the Jews . . .

From this realm 'tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called Mobar, and this is very great, and hath under it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His church is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics.

26. AMR THE SON OF MATHEW ON THE TOMB OF ST. THOMAS AND THE TRADITION OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW (1340 A.D.)

Amr was a Christian Arab historian. Joseph Simon Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. IV. 34. Cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, p. 73.

Thomas' tomb is in the island of Meilan (Mylapore) in India on the right hand side of the altar, in his monastery (dair).

Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. IV. (3.2.) 19. Cited in A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, pp. 133-134.

Likewise Bartholomew journeyed through these (Nisibis and Assyria) and other regions and preached in Major Armenia ; but he did not remain there ; he betook himself to the regions of India where he was flayed.

27. JOHN DE MARIGNOLLI ON THE ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS AND THEIR TRADITIONS (1349 A.D.)

John de Marignolli gives an account of his travels through the areas of India occupied by the St. Thomas Christians. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. III, pp. 216-218, 249-254.

And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen, we navigated the Indian Sea until Palm Sunday, and when arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum (Quilon) where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clus-

ters which are at first like those of the wild vine of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so harvest is gathered.

These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens ; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred goldfan, and a thousand when I left.

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt. And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column (in India). For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil ! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palankin like Solomon's . . .

The third province of India is called Maabar, and the church of St. Thomas which he built with his own hands is there, besides another which he built by the agency of workmen. These he made with certain very great stones which I have seen there, and with a log cut down on Adam's Mount in Seyllan, which he caused to be sawn up, and from its sawdust other trees were sown. Now that log, huge as it was, was cut down by two slaves of his and drawn to the seaside by the saint's own girdle. When the log reached the sea he said to it, ' Go now and tarry for us in the haven of the city of Mirapolis '. It arrived there accordingly, whereupon the king of that place with his whole army endeavoured to draw it ashore, but ten thousand men were not able to make it stir. Then St. Thomas the Apostle himself came on the ground, riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, and a mantle of peacock's feathers and attended by those two slaves and by two great lions, just as he is painted, and called out, ' Touch not the log, for it is mine ' ; ' how ', quoth the king, ' dost thou make it out to be thine ? '

So the Apostle loosing the cord wherewith he was girt ordered his slaves to tie it to the log and draw ashore. And this being accomplished with the greatest ease, the king was converted, and bestowed upon the saint as much land as he could ride round upon his ass. So during the day-time he used to go on building his churches in the city, but at night he retired to a distance of three Italian miles, where there were numberless peacocks . . . and thus being shot in the side with an arrow such as is called *friccia*. (so that his wound was like that in the side of Christ into which he had thrust his hand), he lay there before his oratory from the hour of compline, continuing throughout the night to preach, whilst all his blessed blood was welling from his side ; and in the morning he gave up his soul to God. The priests gathered up the earth with which his blood had mingled, and buried it with him. By means of this I experienced a distinct miracle twice over in my own person, which I shall relate elsewhere.

Standing miracles are, however, to be seen there, in respect both of the opening of the sea, and of the peacocks. Moreover, whatever quantity of that earth be removed from the grave one day, just as much is replaced spontaneously again the next. And when this earth is taken in a portion it cures diseases, and in this manner open miracles are wrought both among Christians and among Tartars and Pagans.

The king also gave St. Thomas a perpetual grant of the public steelyard for pepper and all aromatic spices, and no one dares take this privilege from the Christians but at the peril of death. I spent four days there in an excellent pearl fishery at the place.

28. NICOLO DE CONTI'S VISIT TO MYLAPORE (1425-1430 A.D.)

Nicolo de Conti visited the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore and makes reference to Nestorian Christians living there. A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 95.

Proceeding onwards the said Nicolo arrived at a maritime city, which he named Malepur, situated in the second gulf beyond the Indus (Bay of Bengal). Here the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a large and beautiful church ; it is worshipped (venerated) by the heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand.

29. A SYRIAC DOCUMENT (c. 1504 A.D.)

This document is dated by Mingana as coming from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. He describes it as the swan song of the Nestorian Church. It contains an account of the arrival of the Portuguese and their struggle to maintain their position. Cited in A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, pp. 36-41.

In the year one thousand and eight hundred and one of Alexander (1490 A.D.), three believing Christian men came from the remote countries of India to the Catholicos Mar Simeon, Patriarch of the East, in order to bring bishops to the countries. By the will of God, one of them died on the way, and two of them reached the Catholicos alive. The Catholicos, who was then in the town of Gazarta of Baith Zabdai, was greatly pleased with them. One of them was called George, and the other Joseph. The Catholicos ordained both of them priests in the Holy Church of St. George at Gazarta, because they were well instructed, and sent them to the holy monastery of St. Eugenius. They took from there two monks, the name of both was Joseph, and the Catholicos ordained both of them bishops in the Church of St. George. He named one Thomas and the other John, and he wrote to them admirable letters patent sealed with his own seal. After having prayed for them, and blessed them, he despatched them to India in the company of the Indians. By the assistance of Christ, our Lord, the four of them reached there alive.

The faithful were greatly pleased with them, went to meet them joyfully with Gospel, Cross, thurible and candles and ushered them in with great pomp, with psalms and canticles. They consecrated altars and ordained many priests, because the Indians were for a long time without bishops. Bishop John remained in India, and Bishop Thomas, his companion, returned after a short time to the Catholicos. He brought to him gifts, presents and a servant. It happened, however, that before Bishop Thomas had returned to India, the Catholicos Simon had died, and left his worldly and perishable life for an immortal and imperishable one, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirteen of the Greeks (1502 A.D.), and was buried in the monastery of St. Eugenius. May our Lord grant rest to his soul in the heavenly mansions ! Amen.

He was succeeded by Mar Elijah, the Catholicos and Patriarch, who also took from the monastery of St. Eugenius three pious monks, one of whom, brother David Arrikha, he ordained Metropolitan and re-named Mar Yahb Alaha ; the next one, called brother George, he ordained bishop, and renamed Mar Jacob.

He ordained all of them in the monastery of St. John the Egyptian, the carnal brother of St. Ahha, which is situated in the vicinity of Gazarta of Baith Zabdai, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen of the Greeks (1503 A.D.), and he sent them to the country of India, to the islands of the sea which are inside Java, and to China. The four of them reached there in peace and safety, by the assistance of Christ, their Lord, and they saw Mar John, bishop of India, alive. The latter, and all the blessed believers who were there, were greatly pleased by the arrival of the Fathers. A year after they sent a letter to Mar Elijah, the Catholicos, but before its arrival the Catholicos Mar Elijah died, and was buried in the Church of St. Miskanta of Mosul. He was succeeded by Mar Simon, the Catholicos and Patriarch. The letter which the above-mentioned Fathers sent from India was in the following terms :

'To the second Simon, to the Papa of our days, to the Timothy of our generation, to the Joshua the son of Nun of our time, and to the Isho'-Yahb of our day, to whom power has been given in heaven and earth to tend the flocks of Christ with the rod of Peter, which he has inherited by succession—Blessed is the people to whom this prerogative is due, and who has such a head and director !—Mar Elijah, the Catholicos the Patriarch of the East, the mother of the other parts of the world. May the Lord who raised him and helped him, strengthen him, exalt him, and render him victorious to the glory of Christendom and the uplifting of churches ! Amen !

'Thy humble servants and weak disciples, the contemptible and the lowly, Mar Yahb Alaha, Mar Thomas and Mar Jacob and Dinha the stranger,—fall down before thy pure and holy feet, and crave thy answered and accepted prayers for the assistance of their wretchedness, and humbly cry aloud : Bless O Lord ! bless O Lord ! bless O Lord ! May also Mar John, the Metropolitan of Atail, the temple of God and the treasurer of his service, the saint and head of the saints, and all the other holy Fathers, pious monks, pure priests, elect believers, and all Christians of your side, receive your greetings in the Lord !

'Now we would inform thy love that by the assistance of God, and through thy accepted prayers, we arrived in the blessed country of India in good health. Thanks be to God, the Lord of all who does not confound those who trust in him ! All the Christians of this side were greatly pleased with us, and our Father Mar John is still alive and hale and sends thee his greetings. There are here about thirty thousand families of Christians, our co-religionists, and they implore the Lord to grant thee a long life. They have begun to build new churches, are prosperous in every

respect, and living in peace and security : May God be praised ! As to the monastery of St. Thomas the Apostle, some Christian men have gone into it, have inhabited it, and are now busy restoring it ; it is distant about twenty-five days from the above-mentioned Christians ; it is on the shores of the sea in a town called Mailapore, in the country of Silan, one of the Indian countries. The countries of India are very numerous and powerful, and their distance is about six months journey. Each country has a special name by which it is known, and our country in which the Christians are found is called Malabar. It has about twenty towns, out of which three are renowned and powerful : Karangol, Pallur and Kullam, with others that are near them. They contain Christians and churches, and are in the vicinity of the large and powerful city of Calicut, the inhabitants of which are idol-worshipping pagans.

'Let it be also known to you, O Fathers, that the king of the Christians of the West, who are the Franks our brethren, sent to this country powerful ships, and they were a whole year on the sea before they reached us. They came in a southerly direction on the other side of the country of Ethiopia, that is to say, Habash (Negroes), and they arrived at this country of India, where they bought pepper and other similar spices, and they returned to their country. Then they studied the way and learned it well. Thereupon the above-mentioned king, may God preserve his life, sent six large ships which reached the town of Calicut in six months because they had studied and learned the sea route. Now in the town of Calicut there are many Mohammedans, whom envy has enraged and maddened against Christians. They accused them before the pagan king, uttered lies concerning them, and said : 'These men have come from the West, and seen thy country and thy beautiful towns ; they will return to their king and they will bring numerous armies on ships against thee ; they will besiege thee, and take thy country from thee.'

'The pagan king listened to the words of the Mohammedans, and yielded to their wish. Like a mad man he rose and killed all the above-mentioned Franks who were in his town to the number of seventy men, with five pious priests who were with them, because they do not travel anywhere without priests. The remainder of the men who were on the ships went by sea with great grief and bitter weeping to the neighbourhood of our Christians, to a town called Cochin, which had also a pagan king. When he noticed that they were in great trouble and sorrowful pain, he summoned them to him, comforted them, and swore to them that he would not betray them even in order to save his own life. But when the impious king who had massacred their companions heard this, he was incensed and he mustered a great army, and went forth against

them. The Franks and the king with whom they were, escaped to a fort on the shores of the sea, where they remained a few days.

'Then Christ had pity on them, and many ships arrived from the country of the Franks, who waged a severe war against the king of Calicut. They threw at him hard stones with ballistas, and killed many people from the camp of that wicked king; they made him run, and drove him away and his armies from the shores of the sea. Then the Franks came to the town of Koshi, and they built in it a great fortress, in which were placed three hundred warriors from them; some of them were stone throwers with machines, and some other archers. They put also in it about fifty large ballistas, and about a hundred others of a smaller size, and iron bows from which arrows are thrown.

'Then that king, their enemy whose memory deserves to perish, came back against them, and engaged them in battle, but they defeated him by the power of Christ, and killed about three thousand men from his army by stones from ballistas. He fled again and went back to his town of Calicut: but the Franks pursued him on the sea which is near his town, and overtook him; they seized his ships and broke them, and killed in them about one hundred Mohammedans who were piloting them; they also destroyed the town with stones thrown at it from their ballistas. The General of these Franks came then to another town called Cannanore, situated in the country of Malabar, to another pagan king, and said to him: 'Give us a place in thy town, in which we can buy and sell when we come here year by year to do business.' He gave them a place and a large house, and was greatly pleased with them. The Christian General made him then gifts of cloth woven with gold, and garments of brocade, and bought pepper to the extent of fourteen thousand *tagars* (one *tagar* equals about two hundred kilograms), which he took with him to his country.

'There were about twenty men from them in the town of Cannanore, when we arrived from the town of Omruz to the Indian town of Cannanore; we went to them and told them that we were Christians, and narrated to them our story. They were pleased with us, and gave us beautiful garments, with twenty drachmas of gold; for the sake of Christ they honoured in an extraodinary way our state of being strangers. We remained with them two and a half months, and they ordered us one day to say mass. They have prepared for themselves a beautiful place, like a chapel, and their priests say their mass in it every day, as is their custom. On the Sunday, therefore, of *Nusardail* (the sixth Sunday after Trinity in the East Syrian Calendar), after their priest had finished his mass, we also went and said mass, at which

they were greatly pleased with us. After that we left them and went to our Christians, who were eight days distant from there.

'The number of all those Franks amounted to not more than about four hundred men, but their fear and dread is in the heart of all the pagans and Mohammedans found in these countries. The country of these Franks is called Portugal, which is one of the countries of the Franks, and their king is called Emmanuel. May Emmanuel protect him !

'Do not blame us, O brethren, for the length of this letter. We desired and wish to tell you all the above things. May our Lord be with us all and in us all ! Amen !'.

30. DUARTE BARBOSA ON THE TOMB OF ST. THOMAS (c. 1515 A.D.)

Duarte Barbosa gives an account of his visit to the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore in C. 1515 A.D. *Barbosa*, 99. Cited in Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, pp. 126-129, and A. C. Perumalil, *The Apostles in India*, pp. 72, 82.

Going yet further and leaving behind Charamandal and the lands, there is on the sea strand a city, which is right ancient and almost deserted, called Mylapur, which erewhile was very great and fair, pertaining to the Kingdom of Narasyngua. Here lies buried the body of the blessed Saint Thomas in a little church near the sea . . .

. . . Here (in Mylapur) lies buried the body of the Blessed saint Thomas very modestly in the church which his disciples and fellows built for him. The Moors and Heathen used to burn lights on it, each one claiming it as his own. The church is arranged in our fashion with crosses on the altar and on the summit of the vault, and a wooden grating, and peacocks as devices, but it is now very ruinous, and all around it covered with brushwood, and a poor Moor holds charge of it and begs alms for it, from which a lamp is kept burning at night, and on what is left they live. Some Indian Christians go there on pilgrimage and carry away many relics, little earthen balls from the same tomb of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and also give alms to the aforesaid Moor, telling him to repair the said house.

31. FIRST INQUISITION AT GOA (1543 A.D.)

Though the Inquisition was officially instituted at Goa only in 1560, it was anticipated in the incident described by Gasper Correia in *Lendas da India, Livro quarto, Tomo IV*, pp. 292-294, cited in A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 22-23.

In this very year (1543) it came to pass that a bachelor of medicine residing in Goa, named Jeronimo Dias, of the caste of New Christians, in the course of familiar discourses with his friends, spoke of certain things which were against our holy faith. The bishop, on being informed of this, ordered that he should be arrested and tried and that witnesses should be examined. When arrested, together with certain other persons who had discoursed with him, he continued to uphold certain things of the old law against our holy faith, all of which showed clearly that he was a Jew, and the proceedings were concluded. The bishop thereupon went to the residence of the Governor where a council was held, at which were also present the teacher Diogo (Borba), Friar Antonio, commissary of St. Francis and preacher, another Dominican preacher and the Vicar General (Miguel Vaz). Having seen the papers of the case, they pronounced sentence, which was signed by the Bishop and ran as follows : ' Having seen the sentence of the Holy Church, in which bachelor Jeronimo Dias, stands condemned in a case of heresy, the justice of our sire the King, pronounces sentence to the effect that in respect of the said case, by public proclamation your body be burnt alive and reduced to ashes, for heresy against our holy Catholic faith. In case you seek pardon and repent and confess your error and desire to die as a Christian, you shall be first strangled to death so that you may not feel the torments of fire. ' While the case was thus being dealt with by the Governor's council, teacher Diogo spoke to the bachelor and sternly rebuked him. As a result, the latter was made to repent and realize his error, so that when the secular sentence was pronounced as stated above, he heard it patiently, thus accusing himself of his sin in public. Soon he was sent to the prison, where he asked for confession and was confessed by teacher Diogo. He was taken to the pillory, accompanied as an act of mercy by teacher Diogo who accompanied him until he was strangled, and was burnt and was reduced to ashes.

Soon after, on the following Sunday, the bishop preached at the Cathedral Church. From the pulpit he read the bull of the Holy Inquisition, and gave information only of the penalty of excommunication in order that all those who learnt of the errors of Christian men and women who in their lives or usages practise heresies against our Holy faith should disclose the same ; the other provisions of the Holy Inquisition would not be used for the present until express orders of our sire the king were received.

32. FRANCIS XAVIER'S LETTER TO THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (1543 A.D.)

Francis Xavier (1506-1552), one of the founders of the Society of Jesus, carried on extensive activities in India and East Asia. This letter, describing his work on the Fishery Coast, was written the year after his arrival in India and was written from Cochin. The complete text of the letter is found in 'The Hand of Xavier in the Pearl Fishery Coast', *Pro Deo et Patria*, Series No. XXV, pp. 7-16

May the grace and charity of Christ our Lord always help and favour us ! Amen.

It is now the third year since I left Portugal. I am writing to you for the third time, having as yet received only one letter from you, dated February 1542. God is my witnes what joy it caused me. I only received it two months ago—later than is usual for letters to reach India, because the vessel which brought it had passed the winter at Mozambique.

I and Francis Mancias are now living amongst the Christians of Comorin. They are very numerous, and increase largely every day. When I first came I asked them, if they knew any thing about our Lord Jesus Christ ? But when I came to the points of faith in detail and asked them what they thought of them, and what more they believed now than when they were infidels, they only replied that they were Christians, but that as they are ignorant of Portuguese, they know nothing of the precepts and mysteries of our holy religion. We could not understand one another, as I spoke Castilian and they Malabar ; so I picked out the most intelligent and well read of them, and then sought out with the greatest diligence men who knew both languages. We held meetings for several days, and by our joint efforts and with infinite difficulty we translated the Catechism into Malabar tongue. This I learned by heart, and then I began to go through all the villages of the coast, calling around me by the sound of a bell as many as I could, children and men. I assembled them twice a day and taught them the Christian doctrine : and thus, in the space of a month, the children had it well by heart. And all the time I kept telling them to go on teaching in their turn whatever they had learnt to their parents, family and neighbours.

Every Sunday I collected them all, men and women, boys and girls, in the church. They came with great readiness and with a great desire for instruction. Then, in the hearing of all, I began by calling on the name of the most holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and I recited aloud the Lord's Prayer, the Hail

Mary, and the Creed in the language of the country : they all followed me in the same words, and delighted in it wonderfully. Then I repeated the Creed by myself, dwelling upon each article singly. Then I asked them as to each article, whether they believed it unhesitatingly ; and all, with a loud voice and their hands crossed over their breasts, professed aloud that they truly believed it. I take care to make them repeat the Creed oftener than the other prayers ; and I tell them that those who believe all that is contained therein are called Christians. After explaining the Creed I go on to the Commandments, teaching them that the Christian law is contained in those ten precepts, and that every one who observes them all faithfully is a good and true Christian and is certain of eternal salvation, and that, on the other hand, whoever neglects a single one of them is a bad Christian, and will be cast into hell unless he is truly penitent for his sin. Converts and heathen alike are astonished at all this, which shows them the holiness of the Christian law, its perfect consistency with itself, and its agreement with reason. After this I recite our principal prayers, as the Our Father and the Hail Mary and they say them after me. Then we go back to the Creed, adding Our Father and the Hail Mary after each article, with a short hymn ; for, as soon as I have recited the first article, I sing in their language, ' Jesus, Son of the Living God, grant us the grace to believe firmly this first article of your faith : and that we may obtain this from you, we offer you this prayer taught us by yourself.' Then we add this second invocation : ' Holy Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from your most sweet Son that we may believe without hesitation this article of the Christian faith.' We do the same after all the other eleven articles.

We teach them the Commandments in the following way. After we have sung the first, which enjoins the love of God, we pray thus : ' Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, grant us the grace to love thee above all things ;' and then we say for this intention the Lord's Prayer. Then we all sing together, ' Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, obtain for us from your Son the grace to observe perfectly the first of His Commandments :' and then we say the Hail Mary. So we go on through the other nine, changing the words of our little invocation as occasion requires. Thus I accustomed them to ask for these graces with ordinary prayers of the Church, and I tell them at the same time that if they obtain them, they will have all other things that they can wish for more abundantly than they would be able to ask for them. I make them all, and particularly those who are to be baptized, repeat the form of general confession. These last I question after each article of the Creed as it is recited, whether they believe it firmly ; and after they have answered yes, I give them an instruction in their own language explaining the chief heads of the Christian religion, and the duties

necessary to salvation. Last of all, I admit them thus prepared to baptism. The instruction is ended by the *Salve Regina* begging the aid and help of our blessed Lady.

As to the numbers who become Christians, you may understand from this, that it often happens to me to be hardly able to use my hands from the fatigue of baptizing; often in a single day I have baptized whole villages. Some times I lost my voice and strength altogether with repeating again and again the Credo and the other forms.

The fruit that is reaped by the baptism of infants, as well as by the instruction of children and others, is quite incredible. These children, I trust heartily, by the grace of God will be much better than their fathers. They show an ardent love for the Divine Law and an extraordinary zeal for learning our holy religion and imparting it to others. Their hatred for idolatry is marvellous. They get into feuds with the heathen about it, and whenever their own parents practice it, they reproach, and come off to tell me at once. Whenever I hear of any act of idolatrous worship, I go to the place with a large band of these children, who very soon load the devil with a great amount of insult and abuse than he has lately received of honour and worship from their parents, relations and aquaintances. The children run at the idols, upset them, dash them down, break them to pieces, spit on them, trample on them, kick them about, and in short heap on them every possible outrage.

I had been living for nearly four months in a Christian village, occupied in translating the Catechism. A great number of natives came from all parts to entreat me to take the trouble to go to their houses and call on God by the bedsides of their sick relatives. Such numbers also of sick made their own way to us, that I had enough to do to read a gospel over each of them. At the same time we kept on with our daily work instructing the children, baptizing converts, translating the Catechism, answering difficulties and burying the dead. For my part I desired to satisfy all, both the sick who came to me themselves, and those who came to beg on the part of others, lest if I did not, their confidence in, and zeal for, our holy religion should relax, and I thought it wrong not to do what I could in answer to their prayers. But the thing grew to such a pitch that it was impossible for me myself to satisfy all, and at the same time to avoid their quarrelling among themselves, everyone striving to be the first to get me to his own house; so I hit on a way of serving all at once. As I could not go myself, I sent round children whom I could trust in my place. They went to the sick persons, assembled their families and neighbours, recited the Creed with them, and encouraged the sufferers to conceive a certain and well founded confidence of their restoration. Then after all this, they recited the prayers of the Church. To make

the tale short, God was moved by the faith and piety of these children and of the others, and restored to a great number of sick persons health both of body and soul. How good He was to them ! He made the very disease of their bodies the occasion of calling them to salvation, and drew them to the Christian faith almost by force !

I have also charged these children to teach the rudiments of Christian doctrine to the ignorant in private houses, in the streets, and the crossways. As soon as I see that this has been well started in one village, I go on to another and give the same instructions and the same commission to the children, and so I go through in order, the whole number of their villages. When I have done this and am going away, I leave in each place a copy of the Christian doctrine, and tell all those who know how to write, to copy it out, and all the others are to learn it by heart and to recite it from memory every day. Every feast day I bid them meet in one place and sing all together the elements of faith. For this purpose I have appointed in each of the thirty Christian villages men of intelligence and character who are to preside over these meetings, and the Governor, Don Martin Alfonso, who is so full of love for our society and of zeal for religion, has been good enough at our request to allot a yearly revenue of 4,000 gold fanams for the salary of these catechists. He has an immense friendship for ours and desires with all his heart that some of them should be sent hither, for which he is always asking in his letters to the king . . .

We have in these parts a class of men among the pagans who are called Brahmins. They keep up the worship of the gods, the superstitious rites of religion, frequenting the temples and taking care of the idols. They are as perverse and wicked a set as can anywhere be found and I always apply to them the words of holy David, ' From an unholy race and a wicked and crafty man deliver me, O Lord.' They are liars and cheats to the very backbone. Their whole study is how to deceive most cunningly the simplicity and ignorance of the people. They give out publicly that the gods command certain offerings to be made to their temples, which offerings are simply the things that the Brahmins themselves wish for, for their own maintenance and that of their wives, children and servants. Thus they made the poor folk believe that the images of their gods eat and drink, dine and sup like men, and some devout persons are found who really offer to the idol twice a day, before dinner and supper, a certain sum of money. The Brahmins eat sumptuous meals to the sound of drums, and make the ignorant believe that the gods are banqueting . . .

The heathen inhabitants of the country are commonly ignorant of letters, but no means ignorant of wickedness. All the time I have been here in this country I have only converted one Brah-

min, a virtuous young man, who has now undertaken to teach the Catechism to children. As I go through the Christian villages, I often pass by the temples of the Brahmins, which they call pagodas. One day lately, I happened to enter a pagoda where there were about two hundred of them, and most of them came to meet me. We had a long conversation, after which I asked them what their gods enjoined them in order to obtain the life of the blessed. There was a long discussion amongst them as to who should answer me. At last, by common consent, the commission was given to one of them, of greater age and experience than the rest, an old man, of more than eighty years. He asked me in return, what commands the God of the Christians laid on them. I saw the old man's perversity and I refused to speak a word till he had first answered my question. So he was obliged to expose his ignorance, and replied that their gods required two duties of those who desired to go to them hereafter, one of which was to abstain from killing cows, because under that form the gods were adored ; the other was to show kindness to the Brahmins, who were the worshippers of the gods. This answer moved my indignation, for I could not but grieve intensely at the thought of the devils being worshipped instead of God by these blind heathen, and I asked them to listen to me in turn. Then I, in a loud voice, repeated the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. After this I gave in their own language a short explanation, and told them what Paradise is, and what Hell is, and also who they are who go to Heaven to join the company of the blessed, and who are to be sent to the eternal punishments of Hell. Upon hearing these things they all rose up and vied with one another in embracing me, and in confessing that the God of the Christians is the true God, as His laws are so agreeable to reason. Then they asked me if the souls of men like those of other animals perished together with the body. God put into my mouth arguments of such a sort, and so suited, to their great joy I was able to prove to them the immortality of the soul. I find, by the way, that the arguments which are to convince these ignorant people must by no means be subtle, such as those which are found in the books of learned schoolmen, but must be such as their mind can understand. They asked me again how the soul of a dying person goes out of the body, how it was, whether it was as happens to us in dreams, when we seem to be conversing with our friends and aquaintances ? (Ah, how often this happens to me, dearest brothers, when I am dreaming of you !) Was this because the soul then leaves the body ? And again, whether God was black or white ? For as there is so great a variety of colour among men, and the Indians being black themselves, consider their own colour the best, they believe that their gods are black. On this account the great majority of their idols are as black as black can be, and moreover are generally so scrubbed over with oil as to smell detestably, and seem to be as dirty as they are ugly

and horrible to look at. To all these questions I was able to reply so as to satisfy them entirely. But when I came to the point at last, and urged them to embrace the religion which they felt to be true, they made that same objection which we hear from many Christians when urged to change their life,—that they would set men talking about them if they altered their ways and their religion, and besides, they said that they should be afraid that, if they did so, they would have nothing to live on and support themselves by . . .

Here, then, I will leave off writing, begging of God that since in His goodness He has united us in a common way of life, and then has separated us so widely for the good of the Christian religion, so also He will be pleased to bring us together again in the abode and home of the blessed. That He may grant us this grace, let us, if you will, plead the prayers, among others, of the infants and children whom I have baptized with my own hand, here, and whom God has called away to His mansions in heaven before they had lost their robe of innocence. They are, I think, more than a thousand in number, and I pray to them over and over again, begging that they will obtain for us from God that for what remains of this life, or rather of this time of exile, He will teach us to do His will, and to do it so completely as to accomplish all that He requires of us exactly as He himself desires it to be done.

From Cochin, December 31, 1543.

33. FRANCIS XAVIER'S LETTER OF JANUARY 1545

This letter, written from Cochin, tells of Xavier's experience in Travancore and the condition of the converts. It also makes reference to persecution by the Raja of Jafanapatam. 'The Hand of Xavier in the Pearl Fishery Coast', *Pro Deo et Partia*, Series No. XXV, pp. 104-106.

. . . Now I speak of what I know you are most anxious to hear about — the state of religion in India. In this region of Travancore, where I now am, God has drawn very many to the faith of His Son Jesus Christ. In the space of one month I made Christians of more than ten thousand. This is the method I have followed. As soon as I arrived in my heathen village where they had sent for me to give baptism, I gave orders for all, men, women and children, to be collected in one place. Then, beginning with the first elements of the Christian faith, I taught them there is one God—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and at the same time, calling on the three divine Persons and one God, I made them each make three

times the sign of the cross ; then , putting on a surplice, I began to recite in a loud voice and in their own language the form of general Confession, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Salve Regina*. Two years ago I translated all these prayers into the language of the country, and learned them by heart. I recited them so that all of every age and condition followed me in them. Then I began to explain shortly the articles of the Creed and the Ten Commandments in the language of the country. Where the people appeared to be sufficiently instructed to receive baptism, I ordered them all to ask God's pardon publicly for the sins of their past life, and to do this with a loud voice and in the presence of their neighbours still hostile to the Christian religion, in order to touch the hearts of the heathen and confirm the faith of the good. All the heathen are filled with admiration at the holiness of the law of God, and express the greatest shame at having lived so long in ignorance of the true God. They willingly hear about the mysteries and rules of the Christian religion, and treat me, poor sinner as I am, with the greatest respect. Many, however, put away from them with hardness of heart the truth which they well know. When I have done my instruction, I ask one by one all those who desire baptism if they believe without hesitation in each of the articles of the faith. All immediately, holding their arms in form of the cross, declare with one voice that they believe all entirely. Then at last I baptise them in due form, and I give to each his name written on a ticket. After their baptism the new Christians go back to their houses and bring me their wives and families for baptism. When all are baptized I order the temples of their false gods to be destroyed and all the idols to be broken in pieces. I can give you an idea of the joy I feel in seeing this done, witnessing the destruction of the idols by the very people who but lately adored them. In all the towns and villages I leave the Christian doctrine in writing in the language of the country. I prescribe at the same time the manner in which it is to be taught in the morning and evening schools. When I have done all this in one place, I pass to another, and so on successively to the rest. In this way I go all round the country, bringing the natives into the fold of Jesus Christ, and the joy that I feel in this is far too great to be expressed in a letter, or even by word of mouth.

The island of Manaar is about 150 miles from this place. Its inhabitants sent me some of their people to beg me to go there to baptise them, as they had determined to become Christians. I was occupied on affairs of the greatest importance, relating to the interests of religion, and so could not go myself ; but I persuaded a certain priest to go instead of me and baptise as many as possible. He had already baptized a great number, when the Raja of Jafanapatam, under whose dominion the island lies, most cruelly put to

death a large number of the converts, simply because they had become Christians. Let us give thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ that even in our time He does not let us lack martyrs and that while He sees so few souls avail themselves of all His divine mercy and indulgence to work out their salvation, He permits, in the mystery of His providence, that human barbarity should fill up the destined ranks and number of the blessed.

I have already written you word of how great a friend the Governor of India is to me and to all the Society. He was so angry and indignant at the horrible slaughter of the converts, that as soon as I began to speak to him about it, he ordered a powerful fleet to be fitted out for the destruction of the tyrant, and I was obliged myself to restrain the warmth of his most righteous indignation. This same Raja who has put the Christians to death has a brother, the legitimate heir of the crown, who lives in exile for fear of his brother's cruelty. This prince has promised that, if he is put in possession of his dominions by the Governor, he will become Christian as well as principal person of his kingdom. The Governor has given orders to his officers to restore him to the throne if he embraces the Christian religion, and to put to death the Raja who persecuted the converts, or to treat him as I shall think proper. I do not doubt that the prayers of the converts whom he has rendered martyrs may win for him the grace to acknowledge his blindness, and that after doing a wholesome penance he may obtain pardon from God for so much crime and barbarity . . .

34. XAVIER'S LETTER TO KING JOAO III (1545 A.D.)

This letter was written from Amboina (Molucas) asking the king of Portugal to establish the Inquisition in Goa. It is dated May 16, 1545. Silva Rego, *Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, Vol. III, p. 351. Cited in A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 23-24.

The second necessity for the Christians is that your majesty establish the Holy Inquisition, because there are many who live according to the Jewish law, and according to the Mahamedan sect, without any fear of God or shame of the world. And since there are many who are spread all over the fortress, there is the need of the Holy Inquisition and of many preachers. Your majesty should provide such necessary things for your loyal and faithful subjects in India.

35. LETTER OF MIGUEL VAZ TO KING JOAO III (1545 A.D.)

Miguel Vaz was the Vicar General stationed at Bassein. This letter, written in November, 1545, reveals the role played by the Portuguese king in ecclesiastical affairs. *Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, Vol. III, pp. 212-213. Cited in G. M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, p. 169.

Bassein is among the best lands, if not the best, Your Highness possesses on the Indian coast. It has been yielding large revenue for many years. But there is not a single church there, nor yet in the entire territory extending over fifteen leagues or more. Neither are there any means by which we could disabuse our subjects of the errors in which they live ; and impress upon them the necessity and obligation of accepting our Holy Faith. It seems but right that this work be undertaken by some men who, working in that region, could wean the people from idolatry and Islam both of which are flourishing there. The best way to achieve this is for Your Highness to build a church, granting the purposes of conversion, two thousand *padraos* a year from what comes through God's bounty in this territory. Placing this sum in the hands of reliable men to spend on this head and entrusting them with the work, they would be able to do much in your service as well as for the salvation of their neighbours. For until the present a sum of three thousand, which is raised in the name of the factories, is spent for the glory of Muhammad and for maintaining the mosques. This I know from the information which, I think, for the reasons they gave me, to be correct.

36. XAVIER'S LETTER TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL (1548 A.D.)

In this letter, written from Cochin and dated January 20, 1548, Xavier asks the king to instruct the Portuguese officials in India to assume direct responsibility for supporting the work of the missions. J. N. Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India*, Appendix II, pp. 437-440.

To come to a matter which concerns myself individually. I have often pondered in my own mind, after carefully considering the question on every side, what I could write to your Majesty, as to the best means of spreading, and of firmly establishing, the Christian faith in this country. I am impelled to this course, on the one hand, from my desire to obey God and to promote his glory. I am deterred from doing it, on the other hand, because I despair of ever

seeing my proposal carried into effect. Yet it has not appeared possible for me to be silent with a safe conscience, especially as it is evident to me that the thought has been put into my mind from above, for some special purpose : and I cannot devise any more probable reason for God having thus revealed the matter to me, than that I might make it known to your Majesty. And yet, again I tremble, lest, while I thus relieve my mind of its burden, my very letter may prove a testimony against your Majesty before God in your last hour, and aggravate your doom in the day of Judgement, by depriving you of the plea of ignorance. I beseech your Majesty to believe that this fear greatly distresses me, since I am deeply conscious that I have no wish or intention, beyond finishing my labours and spending my life here in India, in working for the salvation of the souls. I trust that, by so doing, I may, to the best of my ability, relieve you of the weighty duties resting upon you, and, by discharging a part of your proper function, may lighten the burden of thy Majesty's conscience, and enable you to await with greater safety the terrible decision of the last day. Your great love for the Society is such, that I ought to think this benefit cheaply purchased for you at the cost of any labour or troubles of my own. These conflicting anxieties, Sire, between my duty and your danger have, I confess, caused me extreme agitation and distress, but at last I have made up my mind, once and for all, to relieve my conscience of the burden which I have long concealed.

Here, then, is the discovery which I have made during my long experience in India, Malacca, and the Moluccas, and which make me sick at heart. Your Majesty must receive it as a certain truth, that much is neglected which God requires to be done in this country and elsewhere, through the hurtful and disgraceful rivalries which, under the mask of sanctity, prevail amongst your officers, arising out of trivial and concealed causes of offense. One declares—'It is my duty to do this, and I will suffer no one else to usurp the honour of it' : another says — 'If I am not the doer of it, I have no wish to see others do it' : whilst a third complains—'I am bearing the burden and heat of the day, whilst others receive all the profits and thanks'. With their passions heated by these altercations, they each strive, both by correspondence and manoeuvres, to further their own interests. Thus, time is consumed, opportunities are lost, and no place is found for the things which relate to the cause of God. In the same way it often happens that the honour of your Majesty, and interests of your empire in India are neglected.

I have discovered one only remedy for this evil the adoption of which, if I mistake not, would both increase the number of Christians in these parts, and protect those amongst them who now suffer injuries from the want of powerful patrons ; so that no one, either the Portuguese or Indians, would dare to molest or despoil

them. That remedy is, that your Majesty should signify and clearly explain your intention, both by letter to the Viceroy and magistrates now in India, and verbally to those whom you may hereafter send here, that you confide that which is your principal care—namely, the spreading of our holy faith, to the Viceroy and Governor of each province, more even than to all the ecclesiastics and priests who are in India ; that you will call each of them strictly to account ; and that you will impute to them every success or failure in this respect, and reward or punish them accordingly.

In order that there may be no mistake about this declaration, I should wish you to mention each of us who are in these parts by name, declaring that you do not lay upon us, either individually or collectively, the duty which conscience demands of you ; but that wherever there is any opportunity of spreading Christianity, it rests upon the Viceroy or Governor of the place, and upon him alone. That, since God has imposed upon your Majesty the weighty duty of watching over the salvation of the souls of your subjects, you can only demand the fulfilment of this duty from those to whom you have delegated your authority, and honour of the magistracy and who therefore represent the person of your Majesty in this country. And if you find that, owing to the negligence of any one of them, few have embraced the faith of Christ within the limits of his jurisdiction, you will develop upon him the punishments which, otherwise, such neglect would call down upon your own head ; — you have already given them full warning, that you have committed to your chief officers here the weighty charge of imbuing the souls of your heathen subjects with the faith of Christ.

Whenever, therefore, the Viceroy or Governors write to you, let them describe the state of Christianity ; the number and quality of the converts from heathenism ; what hopes, what means there are of adding to their number ; that for information upon these points you will trust only to their letters, passing over without notice all other reports, from whomsoever they come. Your Majesty should solemnly pledge your word, in the diplomas by which you institute and confer power on any one, that you will severely punish the Governor of any town or province in which few neophytes are added to our Holy Church, when it seems plain that, if it had been the wish of those in authority, many converts might have been secured. I very earnestly desire that you should take an oath, invoking most solemnly the name of God, that in case any Governor thus neglects to spread the faith, he shall, on his return to Portugal, be punished by close imprisonment for many years, and all his goods and possessions shall be sold, and devoted to works of charity. In order that none may flatter themselves that this is but an idle threat, you must declare, as plainly as possible,

that you will accept no excuses that may be offered ; but that the only way of escaping your wrath and obtaining your favour, is to make as many Christians as possible in the countries over which they rule.

I could give many instances to prove the necessity of this, but I will not weary your Majesty by what would only be a recital of my past and present anxieties undergone without any hope of reward. I will only assert this much : if every Viceroy and Governor be fully persuaded that you have bound yourself by oath to do this, and that you will perform all that you have threatened, the whole island of Ceylon, many kings of the Malabar Coast, and the whole promontory of Comorin will embrace the religion of Christ in a single year. But so long as the Viceroys and Governors are not urged by the fear of disgrace and fine to make many Christians, your Majesty must not hope that the preaching of the Gospel will meet with great success in India ; or that many will be brought to baptism, or make any progress in religion. The only reason why every man in India does not acknowledge the divinity of Christ, and profess His holy doctrine, is the fact that the Viceroy or the Governor who neglects to make this his care receives no punishment from your Majesty.

But as I can scarcely hope that this will ever be done, I almost regret having written it for fear lest these warnings may add to your condemnation at the last day. I do not know whether the excuse will then be admitted which you allege, namely, that you were not bound to give credence to my letters. But I can from the bottom of my heart assure your Majesty, that I should never have written this about the Viceroy and Governors of this country, if I could in any way have reconciled it to my conscience to keep silence.

37. LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP MENEZES TO THE LATIN PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM (1597 A.D.)

In this letter to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem resident in Rome, dated December 19, 1597, the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes indicates his intention to change the language and doctrine of the Malabar Church. Cited in A.A. King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, pp. 449-450.

The priests with many of the people held a meeting and took an oath that in case his holiness appointed a Syrian bishop, they would obey him, but if he sends a Latin bishop, they will consider what course they will adopt. I propose to purify all the Churches from the heresy and errors which they hold, giving them the pure

doctrine of the Catholic faith, taking from them all heretical books that they possess . . . I humbly suggest that he (the Latin bishop, preferably a Jesuit) be instructed to extinguish little by little the Syrian language, which is not natural. His priests should learn the Latin language, because the Syriac language is the channel through which all that heresy flows. A good administrator ought to replace Syriac by Latin. What is most important of all is that the bishop be a suffragan of the city, as is at present the bishop of Cochin, his near Neighbour.

38. DECREES OF THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER (1599 A.D.)

The Synod of Diamper was called by Aleixo de Menezes, the Archbishop Metropolitan of Goa, for the purpose of compelling the Syrian Christians of Kerala to repudiate their traditions and place themselves under the Roman jurisdiction. The Decrees of the Synod throw light upon the faith and practice of the Syrian Christian community. Here only a few of the decrees relating to the terms of submission have been included. A complete English translation of the decrees may be found in James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, Vol. II, pp. 513-683.

Session I. Decree I.

The Objects of the Synod :

My beloved brethren, you the venerable priests, and my most dear sons in Christ, you the representatives and procurators of the people, does it please you, that for the Praise and Glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and for the increase and exaltation of the catholic faith, and Christian religion, of the inhabitants of this bishopric, and for the destruction of the heresies and errors which have been sown therein by several heretics and schismatics, and for the purging of books from the false doctrines contained in them, and for the perfect union of this church with the whole church catholic and universal, and for the yielding of obedience to the supreme Bishop of Rome, the universal pastor of the church, and successor in the chair of St. Peter, and vicar of Christ upon Earth, from whom you have for some time departed, and for the extirpation of simony, which has been much practiced in this bishopric, and for the regulating of the administration of the holy sacraments of the church, and the necessary use of them, and for the reformation of the affairs of the church and the clergy, and the customs of all the Christian people of this diocese ; we should begin a diocesan Synod of this bishopric of the Serra . . .

Session III. Decree VIII.

For that, till the very time of the most illustrious Metropolitan entering into his diocese, there was a certain heresy twice repeated in the holy sacrifice of the mass, and twice more in the divine office, in calling the Patriarch of Babylon, the universal pastor, and head of the catholic church, in all places, and as often as they happen to name him ; a title that is due only to the most holy father, the Bishop of Rome, successor of the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, and vicar of Christ on earth : the Synod therefore command in virtue of obedience, and upon pain of excommunication to be *ipso facto* incurred, that no person of this bishopric, secular or ecclesiastical, shall from henceforward presume, by word or writing, either in the holy sacrifice of mass, or in the divine office, or in any other occasion, to bestow that title on the said Patriarch of Babylon, or on any other prelate, besides our lord, the Bishop of Rome ; and whosoever shall dare to contravene this order, shall be declared excommunicate, and held for a schismatic and heretic, and shall be punished as such, according to the holy canons : and whereas the Patriarch of Babylon, to whom this church was subject, are Nestorians, the heads of that cursed sect, and schismatics out of the obedience of the holy Roman Church, and aliens from our holy catholic faith, and are for that reason excommunicate and accursed ; and it not being lawful to join with such in the church in public as stand excommunicate : wherefore this bishopric, upon its having now yielded a perfect obedience to the most holy father, the Pope. Christ's vicar upon earth, to which it was obliged by Divine authority, and upon pain of damnation, shall not henceforward have any manner of dependence upon the said Patriarch of Babylon ; and the present Synod, does under the said precept of obedience, and upon pain of excommunication to be *ipso facto* incurred, prohibit all priests, and curates, from henceforward to name the said Patriarch of Babylon in the holy sacrifice of the mass, or in any other divine office, in the prayers of the church, even without the false title of universal pastor ; but instead thereof, shall name our lord the Pope, who is our true pastor, as also of the whole church, and after him, the lord Bishop of the diocese, for the time being ; and whosoever shall maliciously and knowingly act the contrary, shall be declared excommunicate, and otherwise punished at the pleasure of his prelate, according to his contumacy.

Session III. Decree XIX. (Oaths taken to submit to the Church of Rome)

The Synod having been informed of several meetings that were in this diocese, upon the death of bishop Mar Abraham, in which both public and private oaths were taken against yielding obedience to the holy Roman Church, several curates and others obliging

themselves never to consent to any change either in the government of the bishopric, or in matters of faith, not to receive any bishop that should be sent to them by the holy apostolical see, or by any other way, than, by the order of the schismatical, heretical, Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, with several other particulars, contrary to the sacred canons, and the obedience that is due to the most holy Roman pontificate ; doth declare all such oaths, or any other taken, or that shall be taken in the same manner, to be void of no force; and that they do not only not oblige the consciences of those that have taken them, but that as they were rashly and maliciously taken, so it is an impiety and schism to keep them ; denouncing the sentence of the greater excommunication upon all those that made them or took them ; this synod having above all other things promised and sworn to yield obedience to the commands of the Pope, and the holy apostolical see, according to the holy canons, and never to receive any bishop or prelate, but what shall be sent by the holy Roman church, to which it of right belongs to provide prelates and bishops to all the churches in the world, and to receive those that he shall send, without any doubt or scruple, acknowledging them for the true prelates and pastors of their souls, without waiting for any other order besides that of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding any impious oaths that may have been made at any time to the contrary.

Session III. Decree XX. (Condemning Nestorianism and subscribing to the doctrines of Rome)

This present Synod, together with all the priests and faithful people of this diocese, doth embrace all the holy general councils received by holy mother church, believing and confessing all that was determined in them, anathematizing, rejecting, and condemning all that they have rejected and condemned ; but especially it doth with great veneration receive and embrace the first holy council of Ephesus, consisting of 200 fathers, firmly believing all that was therein determined, and rejecting and condemning whatsoever it condemned ; but above all, the diabolical heresy of the Nestorians, which has been for many years preached and believed in this diocese ; which together with its author Nestorius and all his followers, the said council did reject and anathematize ; who being taught by the devil, held that there were two persons in our Lord Christ ; affirming also, that the Divine Word did not take flesh into the unity of its person, but only for an habitation, or holy dwelling, as a temple ; and that it ought not to be said, that God was incarnate, or that he died, nor that our lady, the glorious Virgin, was the mother of God, but only the mother of Christ, with other diabolical heresies, all which this Synod does condemn, reject, and anathematize, embracing the holy catholic faith, in that purity and integ-

rity, that it is believed and professed in by the holy mother Roman church, the mistress of all churches, to which in all things it submits itself according to the profession it has made . . .

Session III. Decree XXI. (Resolved to be governed in all things by the last council of Trent)

Furthermore, this present Synod, with all the priests and faithful people of this diocese, doth embrace the last holy and sacred council of Trent, and does not only believe and confess all that was determined and approved of therein, and reject and anathematize all that the council rejected and condemned ; but doth moreover receive and embrace the said council as to all matters therein determined, relating to the reformation of the church, and all Christian people, promising and swearing to govern itself according to the rules thereof, and to observe the same forms that are observed in the catholic church, and as are observed in this province of the Indies, and in all other provinces and suffragans to the metropolis of Goa ; in order to the removing of all abuses and customs that are contrary to the decrees of the said council of Trent ; by which only it is resolved to govern itself as to all matters relating to the government of the church, and the reformation of the manners of this faithful and catholic people, any customs, though immemorial in this bishopric, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Session III. Decree XXII. (Subjects the Syrians to the Inquisition at Goa)

This present Synod, together with all the priests and faithful people of this diocese, doth with great submission and reverence, submit itself to the holy, upright, just, and necessary court of the holy office of the inquisition, in these parts established ; and being sensible how much the integrity of the faith depends upon that tribunal, it doth promise and swear to be obedient to all its commands in all things thereunto pertaining ; being, after the example of all other bishoprics in the province, willing that all matters of faith should be judged of by the same court, or by such persons as it shall depute : and notwithstanding the said holy office has not hitherto, by reason of this church's having been separated, and had little or no correspondence with the apostolical see, or with any of the churches that are subject to it, meddled with any person belonging to this bishopric, yet now for the benefit of their souls, as to absolutions in cases of faith, which are known to be reserved to that court ; this present Synod doth beseech the lords inquisitors to authorize some learned men within this bishopric, or the Jesuits of the college of Vaipicotta, and of other residences of the same religion in the said diocese, to absolve all such as shall stand in need thereof, and that with such limitations as they shall think fit ;

considering how difficult it is for the people inhabiting the Serra, to have recourse to the tribunal at Goa ; neither can it be otherwise, considering that they live in the midst of infidels, but that such necessary cases will sometimes happen, and especially to rude and ignorant people.

39. THE RAMBAN SONG (THE THOMA PARVAM) (1601 A.D.)

The Ramban Song, said to be originally written by a disciple of St. Thomas, is said to be a redaction of the original in modern languages by Thomas Ramban, the forty-eighth priest of the Maliekal family. The text of the redaction is kept at the Mannanam Monastery, Kottayam. It describes the coming of St. Thomas to Malabar and his activities there. A portion of the document, in translation, is cited in P. Thomas, *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan*, pp. 17-18.

Mar Thoma, who had established the Way in several countries and regions of the earth, and whose laws were faithfully followed by the leaders and followers of the communities he had founded, was, in the early hours of the 3rd day of July 72, going on a journey and happened to pass by the Mount in Mylapore. Here stood a temple of Kali, and the priests of the temple, the bitter enemies of the Apostle, furiously issued forth from the temple and stopped the saint.

'No man' said they, 'shall pass this way without worshipping at the shrine ; hence you come with us and worship the goddess. If you do this, not only shall he let you pass this way unmolested but shall feed you sumptuously on delicacies.'

'What?' replied Mar Thoma, 'Am I to sell my soul for a morsel of rice, and worship the devil? But if you insist I shall do your bidding and you shall see how your goddess will run away from her shrine and the temple itself be destroyed by fire.'

'Do not utter blasphemy', cried the priests, and they forced him to go to the temple.

As the saint approached the temple, a splendrous light shone forth and Kali ran out of the temple and the temple itself was consumed by fire. Thereupon, the infuriated priests fell upon Mar Thoma like mad animals. And one of them taking a long spear thrust it cruelly into the heart of the Apostle. After doing this evil deed, they ran away from the place for fear of the people.

Mar Thoma then knelt on a stone and prayed. Angels on wings carried news of the tragedy to the king and worthy Bishop Poulose.

The king and the Bishop with a great following immediately reached the spot and saw the Apostle in a pool of blood with the fatal wound fresh and spear stuck to his side. Bishop Mar Poulose removed the spear, and as they were about to take the Apostle in their car for treatment, Mar Thoma spoke to them in a faint voice : 'No treatment is necessary for me now. The day of my great happiness is come.' He then spoke to the people who stood near him weeping, and three Nalikas (A Nalika is a time division of Malabar equivalent to twenty-four minutes) before sunset, the great Mar Thoma, alas ! passed away.

40. LETTER OF PIMENTA TO THE GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (1604 A.D.)

This letter indicates the value to Portuguese political interests that Pimenta saw in the Romanisation of the Syrian Christians under Archbishop Menezes. In his letter he cites a letter he had received from the Archbishop. The original letter is in the British Museum in a collection of letters written by Jesuit missionaries on the Malabar coast. In translation it can be seen in Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*, p. 70. Cited in J. N. Ogilvie, *The Apostles of India*, pp. 158-159.

How important was the step (the Romanising of the Syrian Church) and how greatly in the furure it was to promote the interests of the Portuguese Crown one can gain say who is aware of the fact of binding this race, which from the days of St. Thomas had alone in India held the faith, and could place in array thirty thousand armed men to the cause of Portugal, and of bringing them under the obedience of the Roman See. What greatly helped in effecting this, were the zeal displayed and the exemplary life of this prelate (Archbishop Menezes). He in the space of nine months did more, as our (Jesuit) Fathers attest, to promote the spiritual welfare of these people than had been done from the Apostle's time to our days by those who have occupied that See. How well disposed this Prelate is towards ours, who labour in that section of the Lord's vineyard, is shown by what he writes in the following letter which is addressed to me :—

'The visitation through the Serra has often left me exhausted : but I keep in mind what the Holy Ghost has said, *Et bene patientes erunt ut annuntient* (Ps. XCI. 15-16). In what state I was able to leave the affairs of these (Syrian) Christians, the (Jesuit) Fathers must have written you, so I say nothing. One thing I will say to your Reverence—had I spent the winter here in Goa, those churches would have been lost : nor would I have saved my conscience,

at a time when the flock was mine, and was sadly in need of pastoral care and Catholic teaching, had I abandoned it and had I not rather fed it with healthful doctrine, as I did, and do, with the Fathers of the Society to accompany me. I beg and entreat your Reverence to realise how acceptable to me is the almost unbearable burden they sustain in cultivating and expanding the vineyard. The love, the charity, with which they endure all things for God's sake, has bound me by no slight ties to them, for without them I would have done nothing. Supported by them frequently I learned to throw off the clouds of troubles and anxieties, which weigh upon me, at times tepid and imperfect. May the Lord reward them in heaven, and may your Reverence bestow upon them a copious blessing. The Residence of the Fathers at Angamali has been opened with the approval of all. Let not your Reverence have any doubt. The entire salvation of these Christians depends upon the Residence in the Serra.'

41. ROBERT DE NOBILI'S LETTER TO BELLARMINE (1607 A.D.)

This letter, written from Madurai on 1 December 1607, gives an acount of the style of life de Nobili had adopted to accommodate himself to the high caste Hindus. Cited in Vincent Cronin, *A Pearl to India*, pp. 74-75.

. . . The way of life which necessity has compelled me to adopt is this: I always remain confined to my little cabin. After rising and saying Mass and commending myself to the Lord, I admit any one who wishes to come to talk or discuss with me. The rest of the time, which is very short, I devote to writing refutations of some of the chief doctrines of these people, in their own language, which is very beautiful, copious and most elegant. As I never stir from my house and the nourishment I take is not very substantial, I am always ill, and rare are the days when I do not feel some pain in the stomach or in the head. My food consists of a little rice—abundant in this country—with some herbs and fruit ; neither meat nor eggs ever cross my threshold. It is necessary to observe all these, for if these people did not see me do such penance, they would not receive me as one who can teach them the way to heaven, because that is the way of life their own teachers observe. Some of them lead an even more austere life, abstaining even from rice, which means a good deal, for your Eminence must know that here we use neither bread nor wine, except at the Holy Sacrifice, so that if we do away with rice you may imagine what remains.

As for me I do not venture to go so far, because my abstinence from meat, fish and eggs is enough to persuade these people to

receive me as their master. I hope from the Divine Mercy that, without considering my sins, He will deign to make use of this clumsy instrument, for I know that the more worthless and incapable I am (and so I am indeed) the greater will be God's glory.

42. FRANCOIS PYRARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOA INQUISITION (1608-1610 A.D.)

Francois Pyrard's account of the Goa Inquisition was based on his personal observations while visiting Goa from July 1608 to January 1610. It is translated by Albert Gray as *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Molucas and Brazil.* The portion quoted is from Vol. II, part I, pp. 92-95. Cited in A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 27-30.

The Inquisition consists of two fathers, who are held in great dignity and respect ; but the one is a much greater man than the other, and is called Inquisitor Major. The procedure is much more severe than in Portugal ; they often burn Jews, whom the Portuguese call Christianos noeuous, that is to say, ' New Christians '. The first time they are taken before the holy Inquisition, all their goods are seized at the same time ; they are seldom arrested unless they are rich. The king supplies the cost of this process to everyone who has not wherewithal. But ordinarily they attack them not except they learn that they have massed much property. Nothing in the world is more cruel and pitiless than this process. For the least suspicion, the slightest word, whether of a child or of a slave who wishes to do his master a bad turn, is enough to hang a man ; and they give credence to a child, however young, so only he can speak. Sometimes thay are accused of putting their crucifixes in the cushions whereon they sit and kneel ; sometimes of striking the images ; or of refraining from eating bacon ; in short that they are still secretly observing their ancient law, though they conduct themselves in public as good Christians. I verily believe that whatever is desired is assumed of them. Only the rich are put to death, while the poor get off with some penance. And, what is most cruel and wicked, a man who would do evil to another will, in revenge, go and accuse him of his crime. When the other is arrested, there is no friend will dare say a word for him, or will visit him, or lift a hand in his behalf, no more than for a person charged with treason. The people durst not speak in public of this Inquisition but with very great honour and respect ; and if a chance word should escape a man, having but the smallest reference to it, he must forthwith go, accuse and denounce himself, if he suspect that any one has heard him. Otherwise, if another denounce you, you will be at once arrested. It is a terrible and fearful

thing to be there even once for you have no proctor or advocate to speak for you, while they are judges and parties at once. The form of the procedure is all the same as in Spain, Italy and Portugal. Sometimes men are kept prisoners two or three years without knowing the case, visited by none but officers of the Inquisition, and in a place where they never see a fellow creature. If they have no means of livelihood, the king gives it them. The Indian Gentiles and Moors, of whatsoever religion, are not subject to this Inquisition unless they have become Christians, and even then are not so rigorously dealt with as the Portuguese or New Christians from Portugal or other Christians from Europe. But if peradventure an Indian, Moor, or Gentile inhabitant of Goa, had disuaded or hindered another that was minded to become Christian, and that was proved against him, he would be punished by the Inquisition, as would be he who has caused another to quit Christianity ; such cases often happen. The reason why they treat these Indians thus rigorously is that they suppose that they cannot be so steadfast in the faith as the old Christians ; also that it will prevent the rest from being led astray. For the same reason, too, they permit them to retain some of their petty Gentile and Mohamedan superstitions, such as not eating pork or beef, not drinking wine, and keeping to their former dress and ornaments, that is among men as well as women that are become Christians.

It would be impossible to calculate the number of all those put to death by the Inquisition in ordinary course at Goa. I shall content myself with the single example of a Hollander jeweller or lapidary, that had resided there five-and-twenty years more, and was married to a Portuguese Metice, by whom he had an exceedingly pretty daughter of marriageable age, and had amassed goods to the amount of about thirty or forty thousand crusadoes. Being at that time on bad terms with his wife, he was accused of having the books of the pretended religion, whereupon he was arrested and his goods seized. One half was left to his wife, the other to the Inquisition. I know not what befell him, but I am inclined to believe that he was put to death, or at the least lost all his property ; he was a Hollander. They did not treat in like sort a Portuguese soldier, who had married both in Portugal and in the Indies ; but he was poor. They sent him in our carrack to Portugal as a prisoner to Lisbon; had he been rich, they had never taken the pains to send him. For the rest, all the other Inquisitions of the Indies depend upon that of Goa. It is upon all the great feast-days that they carry out their judgements. Then they cause all these poor culprits to march together in shirts steeped in sulphur and painted with flames of fire ; the difference between those that have to die and the rest being that their flames are turned upwards and the other downwards. They are led straight to the great church or *A See* which is hard by the prison, and are there during the mass

and sermon, wherein they receive the most strenuous remonstrances. Thereafter they are conducted to the *Campo Sancto Lazaro*, where the condemned are burned in the presence of the rest, who look on.

43. ROBERT DE NOBILI'S MANIFESTO (1611 A.D.)

In this Manifesto, published in Madurai Robert de Nobili answers certain charges that have been brought against him by certain opponents in the city. He disassociates himself from the Portuguese (Parangis), explains the reason for his coming to Madurai, and briefly summarises his teaching. The original text is given by Vico in a letter dated 27 May, 1611. A summary of the earlier unrevised text is given by Laerzio in a report to Aquaviva dated 8 September, 1610. The following is the revised text of the Manifesto, cited in Vincent Cronin, *A Pearl to India*, pp. 136-138.

The Raja Sannyasi who teaches and follows the Sattyavedam (true religion) wishes to all the sannyasis and other men of this city the blessing of Sarveswara, and spiritual happiness.

Those who make profession of speaking the truth are accustomed to state in writing certain principles, to be made manifest to every one and appear as clear as day light. Since I find myself obliged to affirm certain truths, it seems to me proper, according to the ancient custom of great scholars, to reduce them to writing.

I am not a Parangi, I was not born in the land of the Parangis, nor was I ever connected with their race. God is my witness that I speak the truth and if the contrary is proved against me I am prepared to suffer not only the punishment of hell as a traitor to God, but also to submit to any penalty which may be inflicted upon me by the powers of the earth.

I came from Rome, where my family hold the same rank as respectable Rajas hold in this country. When I was young I became a sannyasi and, after studying wisdom and learning the spiritual law, I left my native country as a pilgrim, travelled through many kingdoms and wherever I dwelt, I lived and conducted myself as a sannyasi.

When I came to Madurai with the intention of going further afield, the Padre who lives here received me in his house, and I decided to remain for some time in this city of Madurai to do penance. With the permission of Nagaya Setti I built a house and, later on, with the help and favour of Errama Setti, I erected a church in brick and with the same material a house, where with the help and favour of the same Setti I have been living to this day.

With those who come to speak with me I discuss no other questions than those which concern the salvation of their souls. In this matter I treat of the existence of God and His attributes, how He is One and three, how He created the world and men, and all other things.

In addition, I teach how that same God became man to save men. I declare that His name is Jesus Christ which means Saviour. that He is true God and true Man, full of grace and Divine gifts, who delivers us from sin, satisfies for the transgression of all men and offers a remedy against their errors. Moreover I teach that after death God will give each one, according to his merits and without regard for birth or transmigration, an eternal reward or punishment. The holy and spiritual law which holds this doctrine of mine does not make any one lose his caste or pass into another, nor does it induce anyone to do anything detrimental to the honour of his family.

God is my witness that what I say is true. Just as the Nayak is the Lord of these lands, and all of us who live in them, whether Brahmins or Rajas or any other caste, are obliged to obey him in temporal matters, in the same way Sarveswara being the legitimate Lord of all men, it is fitting that all races should live in conformity with his holy law.

The law which I preach is the law of the true God, which from ancient times was by His command proclaimed in these countries, by sannyasis and saints. Whoever says that it is the law of the Parangis, fit only for the low castes, commits a very great sin, for the true God is not the God of one race, but the God of all. We must confess that He deserves to be equally adored by all. Therefore he who wants to attain the glory of Paradise must learn about this God and walk in conformity with His holy will, and do nothing which brings dishonour to his caste, and whoever dares say the contrary deserves the punishment of hell.

Perhaps some will deem it unbecoming in a sannyasi like myself to speak in this *olei* of his country and family, but as the lies spread about me are likely to cause greater evils, I am compelled to use that means to make known the law which I profess, the people from whom I came and the land to which I belong, so as to crush a falsehood which might bring disgrace on those I love.

44. ROBERT DE NOBILI'S LETTER TO POPE PAUL V (c. 1619 A.D.)

Robert de Nobili, a Jesuit missionary in Madurai, is well known for his experiments in the adaptation of Hindu customs to Christianity. This led to opposition from his co-workers and ecclesiastical authorities. Eventually Rome took decisions in favour of his methods. The following is a letter written to Pope Paul V in which he gives an account of his apostolate in Madurai and also mentions the proceedings of the Goa conference which was convened to consider his experiments in what is today termed; 'indigenization'. The letter was written in Latin. It was translated into English by Fr. Sauliere. The original copy is kept in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus: ARSI Goa 51, ff. 286-290. The translation as it appears here was published in the *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, (December 1968), pp. 84-96.

1. *Origin of the Madurai Mission*

Having heard by word of mouth and chiefly from the Annual Letters of the great progress of the Christian religion in India and the wonderful labours of many of my fellow Jesuits, I decided with the consent of my superiors to hasten to a place where the hope of spreading the faith was so inviting. With the permission of Father General I left Rome in 1603 and after two years spent in travelling I arrived at Goa. Soon after I came to Cochin, and thence to Madura. There I remarked that all the efforts made to bring the heathens to Christ had all been in vain. I left no stone unturned to find a way to bring them from their superstition and the worship of idols to the faith of Christ. But my efforts were fruitless, because with a sort of barbarous stolidity they turned away from the manners and customs of the Portuguese and refused to put aside the badges of their ancient nobility.

When I noticed that certain Brahmins were highly praised because they led lives of great hardship and austerity and were looked upon as if they had dropped from the sky, I thought that, if to win popularity among the pagans, and raise themselves in their esteem, they contrived to keep perpetual chastity and weaken their bodies by watching, fasting and meditation, I could, to win them to Christ, conform myself to their mode of life in all such things which were not repugnant to the holiness of Christian doctrine, for it seemed to me that with divine help I could do for God's sake, what they did with wicked cunning to win vain applause and wordly honours.

Therefore I professed to be an Italian Brahmin who had renounced the world, had studied wisdom at Rome (for a Brahmin

means a wise man) and rejected all the pleasures and comforts of the world.

I had already learned Tamil and Sanskrit, which among them holds the same place as the Latin among us, and was pretty well acquainted with their books which, although it is contrary to their customs, they had allowed me to read. In a short time I went through them and found it clearly stated in them that the thread and the long tuft, which are the object of the present controversy, indicated the nobility of their family and not their worship or religion, and that the nobles, specially the Brahmins, the Rajahs and the merchants were thus specially distinguished from the rabble and lower classes. For as they apply their laws whether secular or religious to all social actions without any expectation, the way they speak of their thread show that it is a badge of their rank or family but not of their religion. Not only can this opinion be read in their books and codices, which the Brahmins read constantly, but I know that it is so deeply ingrained in their soul and stamped in their minds that merely raising a doubt it looks ridiculous . . .

I may add further that the Indians who live in Portuguese territory dress and live in Portuguese style and run no risk of loosing their status as is the case with the neophytes who are subject to Hindu Princes. If the latter were to lay aside the traditional emblems of their family and caste, they would by the very fact be completely cut off from their friends, relations, and castemen, until broken down by tribulations and miseries of all kind they would be driven to seek shelter in some faroff places, where unknown to all men they might hide their shame. If on the other hand they shrink from exile, they must resort to ignoble dens and spend their wretched life without the least consolation, for if they come out in the open, they are exposed to so many affronts and insults that they are compelled to hide themselves in ill-famed quarters, there to endure endless sufferings . . .

My efforts were not in vain. By God's grace in two years nearly two hundred persons embraced the faith of Christ. At the sight of the present and the prospect of the future harvest our joy was very great, but it was soon damped by unexpected rumours. Among our Fathers there was no agreement regarding this new method ; some did not approve this mode of life, nor the wearing of the thread. Shortly after a superior, moved no doubt by a well meaning zeal—(as we must in justice believe)—forbade me to carry on with my work and baptize neophytes, until that question of the thread was more closely examined. Not only this order affected all the neophytes, but many others who desired to embrace the Christian religion. That is why the Archbishop of Cranganore

thought he must consult Your Holiness by letters. The answer from Rome came to India two years ago, and when last year, 1618, a new Brief arrived urging a speedy settlement of this affair, I set out immediately with the Archbishop of Cranganore for Goa, where we arrived after a difficult journey which lasted one month . . .

45. DECISION IN FAVOUR OF DE NOBILI ON THE ADAPTATION QUESTION (1623 A.D.)

Pope Gregory XV appointed Peter Lombard, the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Lisbon Inquisition to study de Nobili's missionary methods for the purpose of officially putting to rest what had become a heated controversy. On 31 January 1623 the decision was made in favour of de Nobili in the Brief, *Romanaee Sedis Antistites*. Cited in Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, pp. 400-401.

Humanae infirmitati consulendo, taking into consideration human weakness *quantum sine Dei offensione et populorum scandalo licet*, in as much as it is permissible without sin and without scandal, desirous to favour the conversion of these peoples, who do not wish to give up the tuft of hair, the cord, the baths, the sandal, by which are indicated their nobility, caste and office, after diligent study and discussion, after having heard the opinion of various Cardinals, till we decide otherwise, by our apostolic authority, we allow to Brahmins and others to be converted, the use of the cord, and the tuft of hair, which serve to distinguish the various castes, and are a sign of nobility and social standing and office. Further the sandal, which is an ornament of the body, is permitted, and so are the baths, for health and cleanliness. In order, however, that the least semblance of superstition be removed :

The cord should not be received in the temple, or from one of their priests, but from a Catholic priest, who, upon conferring it, should recite the prescribed prayers.

The pagan prayers and *mantrams* which used to be learnt upon receiving the cord, should not be learnt, but rather should be confined to perpetual oblivion.

Similarly the prayers and sacrifices which used to be offered upon conferring the cord, should not be performed.

The cord made up of three strands, should not be made so in honour of the idols, but in honour of the Blessed Trinity.

The converts, who have already received the cord, should burn the old one, and receive a new one from the Catholic priest.

The use of the *sandal* and the *baths* is permitted only for adornment, cleanliness and health's sake, rejecting all superstition, and avoiding the recitation of *mantrams* during the bath, and while smearing the sandal.

All other things, which may have escaped the Cardinals, and which savour of superstition, to be avoided.

Finally the new converts should guard themselves against superstitions of any kind, should not mix in superstitious practice, ceremonies, or sacrifices, lest their subsequent fault and sin be worse than the first.

46. LETTER OF THE CATHANARS (Priests) AND PEOPLE TO THE CAPTAIN OF COCHIN (c. 1652 A.D.)

In the 1650s there was much dissatisfaction among the Syrian Christians. A crisis was created when it was rumoured that a bishop from Syria, Ahathalla, had been killed by the Jesuits. This letter indicates the extent of the dissatisfaction, particularly with the Jesuits. Cited in Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, p. 50.

We beg your honour for the love of God, and of the Christian community that you now endeavour to bring back the Patriarch (Ahathalla) whom the Paulists (Jesuits) have taken from us, so that the truth may be known and we may obey : and in case the Patriarch cannot be produced, he having been killed by the Paulists, let any other person of any of the four religious orders come here, by order of the Supreme Pontiff, a man who knows Syriac and can teach us in our offices, except the Paulists, whom we do not at all desire, because they are enemies of us and of the Church of Rome ; with that exception let anybody come and we are ready to obey without hesitation.

47. THE LETTER OF MAR AITHALAHA (AHATHALLA) (1652 A.D.)

Mar Aithalaha (Ahathalla), an Eastern prelate who claimed to be the Patriarch of India, arrived in Mylapore on 2nd August, 1652. While there he established contact with Syrian Christians from Kerala who were, at that time, under Roman Catholic (Portuguese) jurisdiction. The letter reproduced here was written to Archdeacon Thomas Palliveettil, leader of a dissident group of Syrian Christians who were attempting to reestablish their traditional relationship with West Asia. The Latin text of this letter is preserved in the Propaganda Archives in Rome, *Scritture Referite. Originali*, vol. 232, fo. 2, 1. The English translation is given by E. R. Hambye in a footnote to his article, ' An Eastern Prelate in India, Mar Aithalaha, 1652-53 ', *Indian Church History Review*, vol. II, No. 1, (June 1968), p. 2.

In the name of the eternal essence of the Almighty. The Patriarch of the Holy Thomas the Apostle. The peace of God the Father, and the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit—Hereby I, Ignatius Patriarch of All India and China, send you a letter through some deacons, who came here from your place. After having read the letter with care, send me two priests and forty men. In case you send them, do it with prudence, as well as as soon as possible. For, if these here see you, they will let them go without obstacle. Come, sons, listen to me and learn from me, for all power was given to me by the Lord Pope, i.e., Ignatius is endowed with all power. Therefore, do not be afraid, because I have come having many treasures and a lot of other riches, according to your needs. Therefore try your best to bring me to you, in the name of Mary the Mother of God, you priests and deacons of the holy flock, as well as all the leaders. And know that I came to Mylapore city, because I learned that several men and priests used to come here, who could bring me to your region of the Indies. In the year 1652, I arrived at Mylapore on August the 2nd. To the monastery of the Jesuits, i.e. (text illegible). I live in the same monastery, and they treat me very well, may their generosity increase all over. Peace be with them, with you and with us for ever. Amen. (signed) Ignatius, Patriarch of India and China.

48. TERMS OF SURRENDER IMPOSED ON THE PORTUGUESE AT COCHIN BY THE DUTCH (1663 A.D.)

Having failed in their attempt to capture Cochin in 1661, the Dutch renewed their attack in 1663 and were successful, thus bringing the rule of the Portuguese in that region to an end. The Dutch were assisted by the Zamorin of Calicut. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. II, pp. 20-21.

1. The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands, with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or Worship's representatives.

2. All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves and whatever else may be, shall be handed over, as above.

3. All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India for two years.

4. All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march past with flying colours, drum beating, fuses alight, bullets

in their mouths and two guns, to a convenient place outside the town, and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.

5. All the true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

6. All married Portuguese and *Mestics* shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.

7. All free *Topasses* (semi-assimilated half-castes) and Canarins shall remain at the disposal and direction of the General.

8. The Clergy may take with them the images and the Church ornaments except those of gold and silver.

9. All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country, if they be subjects to the King of Portugal, be comprehended in this treaty.

49. FRA GIUSEPPE ON THE DUTCH OCCUPATION OF COCHIN (c. 1663 A.D.)

From *Seconda Spedizione alle Indie Orientali*. 96, cited in Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. II, pp. 21-22.

The hostilities ceased and all that day was devoted to burying the dead. The following night the Blessed Sacrament was removed from the churches ; they were robbed of all ornaments. On the square in front of each they lit a big fire, and burned the ornaments therein—statues, crucifixes, holy pictures, missals and everything pertaining to the sacred worship. The sight of it caused that poor, miserable people to moan and cry. The next day the keys of the city were delivered. Rickloff took possession of it. He gathered the women in the churches, and some of the nobles in particular houses, with a guard. He collected all the silver plate both from the churches and from private houses. He ordered the Portuguese to remain in their houses, to some of which he granted a guard ; then he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder the city for three days. It is not possible to imagine the cruelty of the soldiers, the ways some women were treated, the affliction and tears of all. Those, who, a short time before, owned fine houses and plenty of money, served by numerous slaves, living in ease and luxury, had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter. Some ladies suffered so much that they even lost their lives. The Portuguese soldiers were put on board to be sent to Europe ; others, with the Religious and the Clergy, were destined to Goa. The

natives were kept to people the town ; the slaves passed to the service of the Company. Honourable men were allowed to take away what they had on their backs, and perhaps a small bundle of clothes ; but on getting on board, upon disembarking, and even during the voyage, they suffered much and lost even the little they had.

50. A LETTER OF JOHN DE BRITTO FROM ORIOUR PRISON (1693 A.D.)

One of the successors of Robert de Nobili, John de Britto suffered much during his missionary career. This letter was written with charcoal from the prison of Oriour on 3 February, 1693, and was addressed to Fr. Laynez. Cited by Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. II, p. 86.

My dear Father, through Raganappan, my Catechist, thou hast learnt of what has happened in my prison up to my departure for Ramnadpuram. On the 28th January I was obliged to appear before a tribunal. I was told I was condemned to death. I was brought to the spot, where I was to die, and all was prepared when the Raja, fearing an uprising, gave the order to separate me from my dear children, the other Confessors of Jesus Christ, in order to hand me over to his brother Udayarthevar. He charged him to execute me without delay. On the 31st January I reached the place of Udayarthevar. The journey was full of hardships. On the same day Udayarthevar sent for me. We spoke at length on religion. Then I was brought back to prison, where I find myself still, and in constant expectation of death, which I shall endure for God. The hope of obtaining this happiness led me twice to India. True it is, to secure such happiness has cost me much, but the rewards which I hope from God are worth all these, and even greater, pains. The crime of which I am accused is none other than that I preach the true religion of God, and that, therefore the idols are no longer worshipped. What an honour to suffer death for such a crime. It fills me with joy and consolation in the Lord. Soldiers guard me closely ; hence I can write no more . . .

51. EAST INDIA COMPANY CHARTER OF 1698

The British East India Company charter of 5 September 1698 contained provision for the appointment and support of chaplains. The following extract from the charter of 1698 is cited in C. J. Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, Appendix II, pp. 223-224.

And we do hereby further will and appoint, that the said Company, hereby established, and their successors, shall constantly

maintain a Minister and Schoolmaster in the Island of St. Helena, when the said island shall come into the hands or possession of the same Company ; and also one Minister in every Garrison and superior Factory, which the same Company, or their successors, shall have in the said East Indies, or other parts within the limits aforesaid ; and shall also take a chaplain on board every ship which shall be sent by the same Company to the said East Indies, or other parts within the limits aforesaid, which shall be the burthen of 500 tons, or upwards, for such voyage ; the salary of which chaplain shall commence from the time that such ship shall depart from England ; and moreover, that no such Minister shall be sent by the same Company to the said East Indies, or other parts within the limits aforesaid, until he shall have been first approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being ; all which said Ministers, so to be sent, shall be entertained, from time to time, with all due respect.

And we do further will and appoint, that all such Ministers as shall be sent to reside in India, as aforesaid, shall be obliged to learn, within one year of their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant Religion, and that in case of the death of any of the said Ministers, residing in the East Indies, or other parts within the aforesaid, the place of such Minister, so dying, shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the next ships that shall arrive at or near the place where such Minister shall happen to die.

52. ROYAL DECLARATION GIVEN BY FREDERICK IV OF DENMARK TO THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES TO INDIA (1705 A.D.)

The first Protestant missionaries to serve in India, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau of Halle University in Germany, were sent under the patronage of Frederick IV, King of Denmark. This Declaration constituted their authorisation and instructions. Cited in J. Fred Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Appendix I, pp. 309-311.

Letter of Appointment

We, Frederick IV etc., do hereby make known to all concerned, that We in Our Royal favour have engaged and appointed, and do herewith engage and appoint Mr. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, to go as a Missionary from here to Eastern India, and there to apply

himself with all diligence to instruct the heathens who dwell within Our territory and on the borders thereof, in the holy doctrine, as set forth in God's Word and professed in the Symbolic Books of this realm agreeing to the Augsburg Confession, and to bring them to the knowledge of salvation, according to the further terms of the instruction, which We in Our Royal favour shall for that purpose communicate to him. Our greeting etc.

Copenhagen, 17. Nov. 1705.

(A similar Royal letter was written for Mr. Henry Plutschau on the same day)

Instruction

according to which

We, Frederick IV, King of Denmark and Norway etc., do in Our Royal favour desire, that Mr. Henry Plutschau, born in Mecklenburg, whom we have resolved to send to Eastern India as a Missionary, should with all submission conduct himself on his voyage out to and there in India, until Our further Royal orders.

1. He shall, on the whole voyage out, betake himself with all diligence to those on board ship, who have been in Eastern India ere this, and who are somewhat acquainted with the native language in order that he may learn from them something of that language.

2. Having by the grace of God safely arrived in the country, he shall, in the name of Jesus, heartily calling upon the same, at once begin the work for which he is sent out, and shall labour among the pagans, as existing circumstances shall make it practicable.

3. Although it is of some help, to improve the little rest of the knowledge of God, which men still have by nature, and thus to lead them to the knowledge of God which he has revealed in his Word, — and it is left to the Missionary himself to judge when and in what manner this may be done with advantage,—yet he shall always specially betake himself to God's Word, not doubting that God will make the power laid therein prove effectual among the heathens.

4. He must hold and handle there in Eastern India nothing besides the holy doctrine as it is written in God's Word and repeated in the Symbolic Books of this realm after the Augsburg Confession, and teach nothing besides it. And as Christ himself began his prophetic office by preaching repentance, and commanded his disciples to preach repentance and remission of sins, so also he must follow the same course.

5. He has to instruct the ignorant in the first principles of the Christian doctrine with all possible simplicity, so that the needful foundation may be laid the earlier.

6. In order that the poor blind heathens may understand that the Missionary himself has in his heart what he teaches, he must always show himself a pattern of good works, so that also by this his conduct they may be won over.

7. He shall not forget daily to pray for the cooperating grace of God and for everything required that he may perform his office faithfully and carefully, and to call upon God in the name of Jesus, that he would bless our Christian understanding with abundant and happy success to the salvation of many souls, and that he would grant to Our whole Royal house the reward of his pious work with very needful blessing for this life and the life to come.

8. He shall keep good friendship also with the Evangelical pastors of the place, and shall gather from them, as from men acquainted with the country, all kinds of useful information.

9. He shall be content with what We in Our Royal favour have granted him for his annual pay and support, and not take any money from the people for the performance of his official duties.

10. Whenever a ship leaves India for his country he shall send a letter therewith, reporting to Us according to his Christian conscience with all submission according to office, its success and its hinderances. In the same way he may add his proposals suggesting how this new undertaking, which cannot be perfect at once, might, perhaps, be better arranged in future.

11. And finally he shall bind himself by a truthful promise as in the presence of God, to obey this instruction, and with that intent he shall subscribe to a copy of it in his own handwriting.

53. LETTER OF KING GEORGE OF BRITAIN TO ZIEGENBALG (1717 A.D.)

This letter was sent to Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar in response to a report of his work that the missionary had sent to the king. Cited in James Hough, *The History of Chriatianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, Vol. III, pp. 190-191.

George by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, &c., to the Reverend and Learned Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and John Ernest Grundler, Missionaries at Tranquebar.

Reverend and Beloved — Your letters, dated the 20th of January of the present year, were most welcome to us ; not only because the work undertaken by you, of converting the Heathen to the Christian faith, doth, by the grace of God, prosper ; but also because that in this our kingdom, such a laudable zeal for the promotion of the Gospel prevails.

We pray you may be endued with health and strength of body, that you may long continue to fulfil your ministry with good success ; of which, as we shall be rejoiced to hear, so you will always find us ready to succour you, in whatever may tend to promote your work and to excite your zeal. We assure you of the continuance of our royal favour.

George R.

Given at our Palace of Hampton Court, the 23rd August, A.D. 1717, in the fourth year of our reign.

54. MAR THOMA IV'S LETTER TO SCHAAF ON THE ST. THOMAS TRADITION (1721 A.D.)

This letter, written by Mar Thomas IV to Carolus Schaaf, the Dutch scholar of Leiden, constitutes a reply to the latter's questions concerning the Indian tradition of St. Thomas and the history of Christianity in India. The letter is reproduced in Land, ed., *Anecdota Syriaca*, and is dated 8 July 1721. Cited in Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity*, pp. 48-50.

O great and learned teacher Carolus, you asked me concerning the one who preached to us the holy Gospel, and I answer thus : There was a king called Pirmal Shoyin who ruled over India. He had but one desire, and that was to build a very beautiful palace. After many enquiries he learned that if he could call in the builders who built for Solomon, his desire would be fulfilled. He summoned, therefore, his majordomo who was called Habban, and ordered him to proceed to Jerusalem and bring to him the builders who worked for Solomon. After Shoyinpirmal despatched the majordomo, our Lord appeared to the latter while he was walking in the road, in the form of an artisan, and said to him : 'Where art thou going to, and from where are thou coming?' And he answered him : 'The king of India ordered me to go and bring the artisans who built for Solomon.' Our Lord then said to him : 'I am the head of all the builders.' While he was still speaking, an angel lifted Thomas from Edessa, and made him stand behind our Lord, who made a sign to him and said to Habban : 'This will erect all your buildings,' and he sold him and delivered him to Habban.

This is the occasion of the arrival of Thomas in India, to our countries. The king and many inhabitants of India believed in Christ at the hand of the Apostle Thomas, and received baptism and priesthood. After having established seven churches, he went to Mylapo, where he was speared to death, and his body was carried by an angel to Edessa. The names of the seven churches built by St. Thomas are first Mailapore, and then Coringalore, Parakar, Irapelli, Kokamangalam, Niranam, and Tirobancore. This happened in A.D. 52. From this date the faithful diminished little by little in our country. At that time, St. Thomas appeared in a vision to the Metropolitan of the town of Edessa, and said to him : ' Wilt thou not help India ? ' and he also appeared to Abgar, King of Edessa, who was the king of the Syrians ; and then by order of the king and the bishop three hundred and thirty six families composed of children and grown-up people, clerics, men, and women, came to India under the leadership of Thomas the Canaanite, from Canaan, which is Jerusalem. All these sailed in the sea and entered Coringalore, our country. They inhabited it by special permission from the king Siramon-Piramal, who was ruling India at that time. All this took place in A.D. 345.

From that time the Church of the country spread in all directions, to the number of seventy-two churches ; and in our days there are over one hundred churches : all the churches from Sherokhai Shorkon to Shora Kullam, the church of Mylapo and Tirobancore. This is the origin of us Syrians. The Franks by their craftiness and temporal power captured half of all the churches. About half of the diocese of Cochi belongs to the Franks, but our Church in Malabar is not counted in that diocese. Amen. What I have said above, I have said in very short terms, and it is not found in the Syriac language but only in our native Indian language . . .

55. EDICT OF THE GOA INQUISITION (1736 A.D.)

This edict was issued by the Goa Inquisition with special reference to Indian conditions. It emphasised the abandonment of Hindu and Muslim customs, which had been retained by some of the converts. The full text may be seen in Cunha Ruvara, *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Cocani*, pp. 370-380 (doc. 59). Cited in Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 97-107.

By virtue of Holy Obedience and under the sanction of spiritual and temporal punishments incurred by those who disobey Apostolic Mandates, we order all persons, born natives of India as well as of any other nation, who are resident in the island of Goa and the adjoining islands of the sub-district of Salseta and Bardez, both

ecclesiastic and lay people, whatever their grade, order, status, condition dignity or pre-eminence, exempt or not exempt, . . . that they faithfully and fully comply with and conform to all that we by this edict resolve with the object of condemning and prohibiting for all time the customs referred to in the preamble, in the manner undermentioned.

All the natives of India, resident in the island of Goa and other adjacent islands and in the sub-districts of Salsete and Bardez, are hereby ordered that during the celebration of their marriages before or after it or on occasions connected herewith, they should not use *Gaitas*, or other Hindu musical instruments, as they have been accustomed to do till now.

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that they should not invite, at the time of fixing their weddings, making payment of dowry, or giving wedding presents, relatives of the bridegroom and bride, whether male or female, who commonly are known as *Daijis* or *Gotris*, to attend such functions ; and should any of them happen to be present uninvited, he should not be the one who receives in the name of the bridegroom dowry or wedding presents from the bride, but this work should be done by the parents or guardians of the bridegroom or, if desired, by any other respectable person, whether ecclesiastic or secular, who may be authorised for the purpose by the bridegroom or bride.

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that when dowry is taken to the house of the bridegroom, wedding presents are handed, or betrothals are celebrated and in any other functions pertaining to wedding whether held on, before or after the wedding day, they should not send from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, or vice-versa, flowers of any kind, betel leaves, areca-nuts or any other thing which could be substituted in the absence of these prohibited objects . . .

The same natives of India are hereby ordered that on the occasions of their marriages and all other functions which they might order or direct to take place for solemnising marriages, either in the house of the bridegroom or the bride, songs, which it is customary to sing in the language of the land and are commonly known as *vovios*, should not be sung, either publicly or in private ; and when they desire to hold celebrations in demonstration of their joy, this should not be done with songs which may have a resemblance with the said *vovios* ; and female relatives or *Daijis* of the bridegroom should never sing in such functions . . .

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that on the occasion of their marriages whether in the house of the bridegroom or bride

or at any other place, they should not commence on fixed days preceding the marriage, to crush rice, grind condiments or flour, fry cakes and prepare other things necessary for wedding feasts; nor should these services be carried out in the first place by any particular relative or *Daiji* of the bridegroom or bride. These preparations should be started at such opportune time as may be convenient to expedite things and with the participation therein simultaneously of as many persons as may be necessary, without any order of preference, or respect for any custom so far observed.

The same natives are hereby ordered that in the functions of their marriages or other functions which may be ordered or directed to take place in connection therewith, they should not anoint the bridegroom or bride, either together or separately, with a mixture of ground saffron, milk, coconut oil, rice powder, crushed leaves of *abolim* or any other things, especially on the day of the betrothal, the eighth day preceding marriage, the day preceding marriage, the day of marriage, the day following marriage or the third, fifth or eighth day following marriage . . .

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that when their sons and daughters are born, they should not be received at birth or placed after they are born on raw rice.

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that on the sixth day of the birth of their sons and daughters, they should not celebrate the function of keeping vigil with banquets, public or private, or gathering of many persons at their houses. When they believe that special care of children is necessary against the risk which children run on that day, they should not perform any act or ceremony which would exceed the requirements of such care. And since not only the natives of India but also many other residents of the island of Goa and other adjacent islands, as well as of the sub-districts Salsete and Bardez and even the Portuguese to this day celebrate the sixth day of the birth of the sons and daughters with banquets and other festive demonstrations, we hereby forbid the continuations of this custom in the form described above . . .

The said natives of India are hereby ordered that they should not observe fasts on the eleventh day of the new moon or full moon, nor on any other days on which the Hindus are accustomed to fast in observance of their sect, and when it happens that on such days they have the duty to fast according to the teachings of the Church, they should do so in conformity with the said teaching, but the fast should be observed in the manner of the Christians and not in the manner in which the Hindus are accustomed to fast, not eating or drinking any thing except at night and using only dry food and fruit . . .

. . . that men should not either in public or at home wear *Purvem* (dhoti) as it is the custom of Hindu men to do and that women should not wear *cholis*, as it is the custom of Hindu women to do . . .

The said natives of India and all residents of the said districts, even the Portuguese, are hereby ordered that they should not refer to or address any Christian person by the name or surname of a Hindu . . .

The said natives of India and all the residents of the said districts, even the Portuguese, are hereby ordered that in the processions, *camisades* or any other festivals which they may hold in praise of God or His saints, no Christian individual should go clothed in Hindu apparel, nor should Hindus be admitted in the said functions for dancing or participating in any entertainment nor should in these be used *rabanas*, *gaithas* or any other Hindu musical instruments which the Hindus are accustomed to use in the solemnities of their temples. Christians may use Hindu apparel only in dance which it is the custom to present on the day of the conversion of St. Paul, or in any other similar genuine representation.

. . .that in the processions, *camisades* or any other festivals, no individual in jest or in the course of a burlesque representation should disguise himself in the clerical dress or dress worn by the Religious, nor should indulge in any acts of mimicking the ceremonies and rites of the Church.

It is ordered that in the *Passos* held during Lent, in which is represented the story of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the churches of the clergy as also in those of the Regulars, there should not be figures living or dead, other than those which represent the said Lord, or an image of Our Lady or some Saints, which would conduce to make the representation realistic, and there may also be some figures of Angels, in accordance with the concessions of the Archbishop Primaz but in no form should there be the figures of Pilatos, Judas, Anas, Caifax, Herodes or of the Pharisees, nor any others except those mentioned above, from which results not only scandalous indecencies but also much material idolatries . . .

56. SCHWARTZ ON THE HINDU REACTION TO EUROPEANS AND CHRISTIANITY (1751 A.D.)

This is an account of the conversations between Christian Frederick Schwartz and local Hindus, in which the latter react negatively towards Christianity as practiced by the Europeans. It also indicates that at least some of these Hindus believed that one would gain material advantage by conversion to Christianity, though Schwartz himself discouraged this idea. From Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Christian Swartz*, Vol. I, pp. 89-94.

A Hindu merchant said to him, ' God has created us to the end that we should know and serve him.' This Swartz confirmed, and then added with regret, that although God had given him and many of his countrymen a knowledge of the end of their creation, yet they remained in idolatry, and thus unhappily never attained it. He then declared the doctrine of Christ, and pointed Him out as the only way to the true and saving knowledge of God.

Another wealthy old merchant, who understood Danish, English, and French, said to him, ' Sir, be not displeased : I wish to ask you a question. Do all Europeans speak like you ? ' Swartz replied, that all Europeans were not true Christians ; but that there were many who were really so, and who sincerely prayed for the Hindoos that they might become acquainted with Jesus Christ. ' You astonish me,' said he ; ' for, from what we daily observe and experience, we cannot but think Europeans, with but few exceptions, to be self-interested, incontinent, proud, full of illiberal contempt and prejudice against us Hindoos, and even against their own religion, especially the higher classes. So at least I have found it with majority of those with whom I have had any intercourse.'

This is a reproach which has been but too justly thrown upon Europeans by the unenlightened natives of India, and has ever formed one of the most powerful obstacles to their conversion to Christianity. It is, however, a reproach which, though still too frequently deserved, has of late years been considerably removed by the improved character and conduct of our own countrymen ; more particularly in stations of influence and authority. May it daily become less merited !

Swartz one day met a Hindoo dancing-master, with his female pupil, and told them, that no unholy persons shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. ' Alas, sir ! ' said the poor girl, ' in that case hardly any European will ever enter it ; ' and passed on.

Having asked a Pandaram, or Hindoo devotee, who carried about an idol, why he did so ; ' For my support,' said he. Swartz

reproved him for his baseness, and inquired the name of his idol. He replied by a Tamil word signifying, 'He that removes evil.' Upon this, the missionary spoke to him of Jesus, as the only Saviour who took away the sins of the world.

A Hindoo pretended that he and his countrymen worshipped the same God as the Christians did, only under other names. Swartz replied, 'The true God must possess divine perfections; such as supreme wisdom, omniscience, omnipotence, holiness, justice. Now, nothing of this is found in your divinities; but, by your own records, ignorance, impurity, cruelty. How can it be said of such that they are gods? You have a proverb, that where sin is, there is no excellence. Now you acknowledge the practices ascribed to your gods to be sinful; consequently, by your own confession, they are unworthy of the name.' 'That is very true,' said the Hindoo; 'but if we receive even what is false, and think it to be true in our heart, it is done to us according to our faith.' 'How can you adopt,' answered Swartz, 'a sophism, which you yourselves, on other occasions, reject? You are accustomed to say, "If one write the word sugar, and then lick his finger, it will not on that account become sweet, though he believe it ever so firmly".'

A native objected, 'Show us any one who has embraced your religion, and has been actually saved, and we will believe you.' Swartz answered, in the spirit of Abraham's reply in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, 'God has given you his word—prove and examine it. Such an evidence as you require is not the appointed way of becoming convinced of the truth; for the devil can transform himself into an angel of light.'

Another observed, 'I am surprised to hear you say, that if we forsake Paganism, our souls will be happy, and that if we do not, God will punish us. What is the soul? A breath, which, when it has left the body, is blown away with other winds. You may perceive this by our holding the hand to a dying person's mouth, to feel whether there is breath. If there be, life is still in him. Thus breath and the soul are one and the same thing. Who can say that wind shall be punished? What is God? Can he be seen? He is the universe. I died: — that means nothing more than that my body is resolved into its original elements—water, fire, earth, air. But the existence of such a spirit within me as you speak of, I believe not. Where is it when I sleep, when I see no one or though one touch me, I do not feel it?' Swartz replied to each point. He reminded the objector of the *operations* of the soul, such as thinking, judging, determining; and asked, whether wind was capable of these? Whether he could not by this perceive that he had a soul, which is a real being, endowed with understanding and will, and which is therefore susceptible of sorrow, anxiety, and pain. He

next explained the doctrine of the resurrection. This man expressed, without reserve, the doubts which other heathens entertain ; from which it appears that the errors of Spinoza are not unknown in India. Indeed they are not new, having been long since noticed and refuted in Eccles. iii. 19-21, and in the book of Wisdom, ii.1-3.

A heathen said to Swartz, ' If I become a Christian, how shall I be maintained ? ' He replied, ' Work and pray.' The Gospel of St. Matthew was given to him, and his first opening it, he lighted on the passage, chap. vi. 31-33 ' Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat, &c. for after all these things do the Gentiles seek ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness ; and all these things shall be added unto you.' This singular coincidence made a deep impression.

A Hindoo inquired whether there were any worldly advantages, such as money or rice, to be gained by embracing our religion. Swartz lamented his earthly mind, and informed him that the missionaries were not come to support the idle, but to show all the way to obtain incorruptible blessings. Another said, ' If I become a Christian, I shall be called an apostate, who has crept into another caste.' Swartz told him, that heathen unbelievers belonged to the caste of the devil ; but that the family of God, into which those are adopted who believe the gospel, is ' a chosen generation, a royal priesthood ; a peculiar people.' . .

57. THE TRADITION OF ST. THOMAS IN THE MOZARABIC BREVIARY (1775 A.D.)

The Latin text of the Mozarabic Breviary was edited and published by Cardinal Lorenzana in 1775. The English text is a translation by Westcott. It gives evidence concerning the tradition of St. Thomas in India and the translation of his relics to Edessa. Cited in H. Hosten, *Antiquities from San Thome and Mylapore*, pp. 283-285.

2. Amongst the brethren famous far, thine own Apostle true,
Saint Thomas, touched the sacred scar and doubting not, his
Saviour knew.

3. A herald comes from India's shore to seek a builder wise ;
Searching in every market store, for cunning architect he
spies.

4. ' My servant Thomas,' said the Lord, ' a faithful builder he.
' I give thee : take.' The glorious word Abbanes heard,
and took with glee.

5. Thus, entering Eliophor, he stayed of royal slaves the sport ;
But speedy vengeance was repaid to him who blows and insults wrought.

6. The king, astonished at the sight, his blessing humbly prays,
And, clothed in garb of white, is blessed with the baptismal grace.

7. King Gundaphor, as Western prince craving palace home,
Bids the Apostle build one, since none skilled as he in arts of Rome.

8. But Didymus the blest, as prize winning the tyrant's gold,
Built him a palace in the skies, sparkling with heavenly gems untold.

9. Therefore, the saint in dungeon fast the king confined amain ;
But Gath, the royal brother, passed from earth, and saw that heavenly fane.

10. The angels pray that Gath may rise from death, to pay the gold
To Gundaphor, and with the price buy house, and free the Apostle bold.

11. Forthwith, Gath rose at Christ's command and sought the prison cell,
Set free the saint ; and all the band seek pardon for their crimes so fell.

13. Thence, preaching Christ o'er India wide, he sped for soul to search
And countless thousands in the tide baptising, founded Christ's true church.

18. The idol's priest with wrathful pace strode forth with gleaming sword
And smote the holy martyr's face, crowned with the laurels of his blood.

19. Fair country where his body lies, Edessa, city blest,
Within thy walls, an honoured prize they laid his martyred form to rest.

58. SCHWARTZ ON CASTEISM AT TANJORE AND TRANQUEBAR (1787 A.D.)

The question of the relationship between the traditional caste structures and the practices of the Christian church was an important issue in Tanjore and Tranquebar Protestant churches during the eighteenth century. Schwartz had to deal with this problem frequently. The following is a descripton of the way in which the caste was dealt with in the church during the time of Schwartz. H. Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Christian Swartz* (1835), Vol. II, pp. 115-119.

'Concerning the question about castes,' he (Schwartz) observes, 'both at Tranquebar and here, our congregations consists of nearly an equal number of the higher and the lower.' He then refers particularly to the difficulties which naturally arose as to the intercourse between natives of different castes, even after their conversion to that divine religion, which while it invariably recognises the distinction of rank in civil society, teaches that all are brethren, as the children of the same common Father, and the disciples of the same meek and lowly Saviour. 'Here,' he continues, 'the men and women of the higher caste sit on one side of the church, and on the other, those of the lower.

'I have carefully avoided all unnecessary restraint, and thus have met with fewer difficulties. Even at the administration of the sacrament, sometimes one or other of the lower caste has first approached to receive it, without producing any unpleasant sensation. Should you visit our church on a Sunday, you would observe with surprise the clean appearance of the lower caste, so that one might often take them for the higher. What renders them peculiarly obnoxious, is their practice of feeding upon dead cattle. I have always expressed the utmost abhorrence of such a custom, and positively declared that I would not allow it, and accordingly I hardly know any instance of it here. The country priests and catechists generally belong to one of the higher castes. The catechist Gabriel is, indeed, of the lower ; but not withstanding this, he converses freely with people of a higher class, as he pays particular attention to cleanliness in his dress. In the interior of the country, such intercourse is certainly not so easy. I was lately invited to the house of a heathen of the higher caste, when the pariar catechist came to me. I called to him, 'Stop ; I will come to you ; the suttirer, that is, the people of the higher caste, have not yet learned to be humble : they are proud sinners—yet we must bear with them.' This they were not willing to admit, and accordingly showed kindness to the catechist. In another place, in the house of a heathen, many people assembled, whom I catechised and prayed with, and we even had divine service there on Sunday. The master of the house sat down at my feet, listening with great attention. O !

that we could spend more time among them. Things would then soon assume a more promising appearance. We preach to high and low, that Jesus Christ is our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification, and our redemption.' . . .

The judicious manner in which Swartz treated this difficult and delicate point, is another proof of his wise and just conception of the liberal and tolerant spirit of Christianity ; and the happy consequence of his mild and forbearing conduct was, that the distinctions of the caste among his converts, were gradually disappearing and would probably, in time, have been entirely forgotten. The rash and intolerant spirit, however, of some of his younger successors revived and exasperated the feelings of the native Christians upon these painful distinctions ; and at the period when the mission was visited by Bishop Middleton, and afterwards by Bishop Heber, an appeal was made to them upon this subject. Both these eminent prelates concurred in considering the feelings in question as partaking more of a civil than a religious nature, and in recommending mutual forbearance and kindness to the converts ; at the same time enjoining on the missionaries a recurrence to the principles and practice of their admirable predecessor, Swartz, in allowing the distinction of castes in the church to continue, provided that due care were taken to teach the congregations that they are all naturally, and in the light of Christianity, equal.

59. WILBERFORCE'S PROPOSALS DURING CHARTER REVISION DEBATE (1793 A.D.)

The charter of the East India Company was renewed by the British Parliament every twenty years. When the new provisions of the charter were being debated in 1793, the Evangelicals, under the leadership of William Wilberforce attempted to make the Company responsible for educational and missionary work in India, as the following clause they wished inserted and the resolution moved by Wilberforce indicate. The motion was defeated and the clause was not inserted. Cited in J. Richter, *A History of Christian Missions in India*, pp. 149-150.

It is the opinion of this House that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominion in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and to their religious and moral improvement.

RESOLVED, that the court of Directors of the Company shall be empowered and commissioned to nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons, who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as school masters, missionaries, or otherwise.

60. CAREY ON METHODS OF EVANGELISM (1796 A.D.)

The work of William Carey and his colleagues at Serampore and Calcutta played an important part in the development of the modern missionary movement. Here Carey describes his evangelistic methods in his journal of 11 January 1796. Cited in Eustace Carey, *Memoir of William Carey*, pp. 255-258.

I wish to say something about the manner of my preaching, but scarcely know how. As a specimen, however, I will just describe the season at a large village, about four miles from Mudnabatty, called Chinsurah. I went one Lord's Day afternoon to this place, attended by a few persons from Mudnabatty. When I got into the town, I saw an idolatrous temple, built very finely with bricks. In order to excite attention, I asked what place that was: they said it was Thakooranne, that is a Debta. I asked if it was alive; they said, yes; well, said I, I will see her, and accordingly went towards the place, when they called out, 'No, Sir, no, it is only a stone.' I however mounted the steps, and began to talk about the folly and wickedness of idolatry. A bazaar or market, near, was very noisy; I therefore removed to a little distance under a tamarind-tree, where we began by singing the hymn 'O who besides can deliver.' By this time a pretty large concourse of people was assembled, and I began to discourse with them upon the things of God. It is obvious that giving out a text and regularly dividing it, could not be of any use to those who never heard a word of the bible in their lives; I therefore dwelt upon the worth of the soul and its fallen state, the guilt of all men who had broken God's righteous law, and the impossibility of obtaining pardon without a full satisfaction to divine justice. I then inquired what way of life consistant with the justice of God was proposed in any of their shastras. They, said I, speak of nine incarnations of Vishnu past, and one to come, yet not one of them for the salvation of a sinner. They were only to preserve a family, kill a giant, make war against tyrants, &c.; all which God could have accomplished as well without these incarnations. An incarnation of the Deity, said I, is matter of too great importance to take place in so ludicrous a manner and for such mean end purposes. Mutchee Obeetar, or fish incarnation said I, was to become rudder of a boat, and preserve a family in a great flood; and the wild hog incarnation was to kill a giant and draw up the earth out of the sea when it was sinking; but this God who created it could have accomplished without any such interposition. I then observed how miserable they were, whose religion only respected the body, and whose shastras could point out no salvation for the sinner. I then spoke of the way of life by Christ, his substitution in our place, suffering in the sinner's stead and the like.

At another place I preached from Christ being a blessing, sent to bless in turning every one from his iniquities. I observed the superiority of the gospel to all other writings, and Christ to all pretended saviours in that point ; that believing on Christ was universally accompanied with turning from iniquity ; and that their worship must be false, for they made images and offerings to them, and were abundant in their worship, but, said I, there is not a man of you yet turned from his iniquity. There are among you liars, thieves, whoremongers, and men filled with deceit. And as you were last year so you are this, not any more holy : nor can you ever be so, till you throw off your wicked worship and wicked practices, and embrace the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the method of preaching I use among them ; nothing of this kind affronts them ; many wish to hear ; many, however, abhor the thoughts of the gospel. The Brahmins fear to lose their gain ; the higher castes, their honour ; and the poor tremble at the vengeance of their debtas. Thus we have been successful.

61. CAREY ON WITNESSING A SATI (1799 A.D.)

Carey played an important role in having the practice of *sati* (widow-burning) abolished. In an entry dated 1 April 1799, he describes in his diary the first time he witnessed this practice. Cited in George Smith, *The Life of William Carey*, pp. 94-95.

As I was returning from Calcutta I saw the Sahamaranam, or, a woman burning herself with the corpse of her husband, for the first time in my life. We were near the village of Noya Serai, Niaverai. Being evening, we got out of the boat to walk, when we saw a number of people assembled on the river-side. I asked them what they were met for, and they told me to burn the body of a dead man. I inquired if his wife would die with him ; they answered Yes, and pointed to the woman. She was standing by the pile, which was made of large billets of wood, about two and a half feet high, four feet long, and two wide, on the top of which lay the dead body of her husband. Her nearest relation stood by her, and near her was a small basket of sweet meat called Thioy. I asked them if this was the woman's choice, or if she were brought to it by any improper influence ? They answered that it was perfectly voluntary. I talked till reasoning was of no use, and then began to exclaim with all my might against what they were doing, telling them that it was a shocking murder. They told me it was a great act of holiness, and added in a very surely manner, that if I did not like to see it I might go farther off, and desired me to go. I told them that I would not go, that I was determined to stay and see the murder, and that I should certainly bear witness of it at the tribunal of God. I exhorted the woman not to throw away her

life ; to fear nothing, for no evil would follow her refusal to burn. But she in the most calm manner mounted the pile, and danced on it with her hands extended, as if in the utmost tranquility of spirit. Previous to her mounting the pile the relation whose office it was to set fire to the pile, led her six times round it, at two intervals,—that is, thrice at each circumambulation. As she went round she scattered the sweet meat above mentioned among the people, who picked it up and ate it as a very holy thing. This being ended, and she having mounted the pile and danced as above mentioned (N.B. The dancing only appeared to be to show us her contempt of death, and prove to us that her dying was voluntary), she lay down by the corpse, and put one arm under its neck and the other over it, when a quantity of dry cocoa-leaves and other substances were heaped over them to a considerable height, and then Ghee, or melted preserved butter, poured on the top. Two bamboos were then put over them and held fast down, and fire put to the pile, which immediately blazed very fiercely, owing to the dry and combustible materials of which it was composed. No sooner was the fire kindled than all the people set up a great shout—Hurree-Bol, Hurree-Bol, which is a common shout of joy, and an invocation of hurree, or Seeb. It was impossible to have heard the woman had she groaned, or even cried aloud, on account of the mad noise of the people, and it was impossible for her to stir or struggle on account of the bamboos which were held down on her like the levers of a press. We made much objection to their using these bamboos, and insisted that it was using force to prevent the woman from getting up when the fire burned her. But they declared that it was only done to keep the pile from falling down. We could not bear to see more, but left them, exclaiming loudly against the murder, full of horror at what we had seen.

62. FRANCIS BUCHANAN ON THE MALABAR CHRISTIANS (1800 A.D.)

Francis Buchanan visited Malabar in the early part of December, 1800. He describes here the social status and practices of the Syrian Christians. F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, pp. 391-393.

9th December :— . . . Opposite to our encampment was a *Nazaren* village, named *Cunnung colung curry Angady*, which looks very well, being seated on a rising ground amid the groves of the *Betel-nut* palm. The *Papa* or priest waited on us. He was attended by a pupil, who behaved to his superior with utmost deference. The *Papa* was very well dressed in a blue robe ; and, though his ancestors have been settled in the country for many generations, he was very fair, with high Jewish features. The greater part of the sect,

however, entirely resemble the aborigines of the country, from whom indeed they are descended.

The *Papa* informed me that his sect are dependent on the Jacobite patriarch of *Antioch*; but that they have a metropolitan, who resides in the dominions of *Travancore*, and who is sent by the patriarch on the death of his predecessor. None of the *Papas*, or inferior clergy, go to *Antioch* for their education, and all of them have been born in the country. My visitor understood no language but the *Syriac*, and that of *Malayala*. He preaches in the latter; but all the ceremonies of the church are performed in the *Syriac*. In their churches they have neither image nor pictures, but the *Nazarens* worship the cross. Their clergy are allowed to marry; my visitor, however, seemed to be not a little proud of his observing celebacy, and a total abstinence from animal food. He said that, so far as he remembers, the number of the sect seems neither to be increasing nor diminishing. Converts, however, are occasionally made of both *Nairs* and *Shanars*; but no instance occurs of a *Moplay* having been converted, nor of a *Namburi*, unless he had previously lost cast.

The *Papa* says, that the *Nazarens* were introduced 1740 years ago, by a certain saint named *Thomas*, who, landing at *Meila-pura*, took up his residence on a hill near *Madras*, and which is now called after his name. He afterwards made a voyage to *Cochin*, and in that neighbourhood settled, a church, which is now the metropolitan, as the Portuguese drove all the *Nazarens* from the eastern coast. St. Thomas afterwards returned to *Meila-pura*, where he died. At that time *Malayala* belonged to the *Brahmans*, who were governed by a *Raja* sent by *Shulun Permal*, the sovereign king of the south. The *Papa* then related the history of *Cheruman Permal*, nearly as I have given it (page 348,9) on the authority of the *Namburis*; only he says, that this traitor, after having divided his usurped dominions, died before he reached Mecca. It was in his reign that the Mussulmans first arrived in India. They landed at *Challiem*, a place near *Vaypura*. The *Papa* says, that the metropolitan has an account of all his predecessors, from the time of Saint Thomas, with a history of the various persecutions that they have been subjected to by the governing powers, the worst of which would appear to have been that inflicted by the Portuguese. He promised to send me a copy of this kind of chronicle, but has not been so good as his word.

A *Brahman* of the place says, that when any slaves are converted by the *Nazarens*, these people bestow on them their liberty, and give them daily or monthly wages. He said also, that the *Nazarens* are a very orderly, industrious people, who live chiefly by trade and agriculture.

In the afternoon we went to the *Nazareny* village, which contains many houses regularly disposed, and full of people. For an Indian town it is well built, and comparatively clean. It has a new church of considerable size. An old church is situated at some distance on a beautiful rising ground. It is now unroofed ; but the walls, although built of indurated clay only, continue very fresh and strong. The altar is arched over with the same materials, and possesses some degree of elegance. The burying ground is at the west end of the church, where the principal door is placed. From its being very small, the graves must be opened long before the bones are consumed. As the graves are opened for the new bodies, the old bones are collected, and thrown into an open pit near the corner of the church, where they as exposed to the view of all passengers.

63. REGULATION TO PREVENT THE SACRIFICE OF CHILDREN (1802 A.D.)

On 20 August 1802, Regulation VI was passed by the Governor-General in council prohibiting the practice of sacrificing children by drowning or throwing them to the sharks. It is evidence of government interference in religiously customary practice, when such practices were abhorrent to the British sense of values and could be shown to be contrary to Hindu & Moslem law. Cited in Claudius Buchanan, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India*, p. 101.

A regulation for preventing the sacrifice of children at Saugor and other places. Passed by the Governor-General in council, on the 20th August, 1802.

It has been represented to the Governor-General in council, that a criminal and inhuman practice of sacrificing children, by exposing them to be drowned, or devoured by sharks, prevails at the island of Saugor, and at Bansbaryah, Chaugdah, and other places on the Ganges. At Saugor especially, such sacrifices have been made at fixed periods, namely, the day of full moon in November and in January ; at which time also grown persons have devoted themselves to a similar death. Children, thrown into the sea at Saugor have not been generally rescued, as is stated to be the custom at other places ; but the sacrifice has, on the contrary, been completely affected, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity in some instances. This practice, which is represented to arise from superstitious vows, is not sanctioned by the Hindoo law, nor countenanced by the religious orders, or by the people at large ; nor was it at any time authorised by the Hindoo or Mohamedan governments of India. The persons concerned in the perpetration of such crimes are therefore clearly liable to punishment ; and the

plea of custom would be inadmissible in excuse of the offence. But, for the more effectual prevention of so inhuman a practice, the Governor-General in council has enacted the following regulation, to be in force from the promulgation of it, in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares.

This is followed by a clause declaring the practice to be murder, and punishable with death.

64. CAREY ON INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE IN SERAMPORE (1803 A.D.)

The marriage at Serampore of Krishna Prosad, a Brahmin convert, to the daughter of Krishna Pal, a Sudra, was of great significance in the history of Christianity in Bengal and, indeed of India. Marriage was the point at which caste barriers were most rigid. Carey describes the wedding in his diary. Cited in G. Smith, *The Life of William Carey*, pp. 127-128.

April, 4, 1803—This morning early we went to attend the wedding of Krishna Prosad with Onunda, Krishna's (Pal) second daughter. Krishna gave him a piece of ground adjoining his dwelling, to build him a house, and lent Prosad fifty rupees for that purpose, which he is to return monthly, out of his wages. We therefore had a meeting for prayer in this new house, and many neighbours were present. Five hymns were sung : brother Carey and Marshman prayed in Bengali. After this we went under an open shed close to the house, where chairs and mats were provided ; here friends and neighbours sat all around. Brother Carey sat at a table ; and after a short introduction, in which he explained the nature of marriage, and noticed the impropriety of the Hindoo customs in this respect, he read 2 Cor. vi. 14-18, and also the account of the marriage of Cana. Then he read the printed marriage agreement, at the close of which Krishna Prosad and Onunda, with joined hands, one after the other, promised love, faithfulness, obedience, etc. They then signed the agreement, and brethren Carey, Marshman, Ward, Chamberlain, Ram Roteen, etc., signed as witnesses. The whole was closed with prayer by brother Ward. Everything was conducted with the greatest decorum, and it was almost impossible not to have been pleased. We returned home to breakfast, and sent the new-married couple some sugar-candy, plantains, and raisins ; the first and the last of these articles had been made a present of to us, and the plantains were the produce of the mission garden. . .

April, 5.—This evening we all went to supper at Krishna's, and sat under the shade where the marriage ceremony had been performed. Tables, knives and forks, glasses, etc., having been taken

from our house, we had a number of Bengali plain dishes, consisting of curry, fried fish and vegetables, etc., and I fancy most of us ate heartily. This is the first instance of our eating at the house of our native brethren. At this table we all sat with the greatest cheerfulness, and some of the neighbours looked on with a kind of amazement. It was a new and very singular sight in this land where clean and unclean is so much regarded. We should have gone in the daytime, but were prevented by the heat and want of leisure. We began this wedding supper with singing, and concluded with prayer ; between ten and eleven we returned home with joy. This was a glorious triumph over the caste ! A Brahman married to a Soodra, in the Christian way : Englishmen eating with the married couple and their friends, at the same table, and at the native house. Allowing the Hindoo chronology to be true, there has not been such a sight in Bengal these millions of years !

65. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN ON THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF KERALA (c. 1806 A.D.)

Claudius Buchanan, a chaplain of the East India Company in Bengal, travelled through Kerala during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Scholars are often dependent upon his narrative with respect to the history of the Syrian Christians during the late eithteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This passage deals with political suppression, religious persecution, an interview with the Bishop, and conversations regarding union with the Anglican Church. C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*. pp. 106-148.

... But at the same time, I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches, and in the people, there was the air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior Priest, ' You appear to me like a people who have known better days.' ' It is even so,' said he. ' We are in a degenerate state compared with our forefathers.' He noticed, that there were two causes of their present decay. ' About 300 years ago, an enemy came from the West, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the inquisition : and compelled us to seek the protection of the native Princes. And the native Princes have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognise our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the *Nairs*, the nobility of the country ; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our Church has passed away ; but we hope your nation will revive it again.' I observed that ' the glory of a Church could never die, if it preserved the Bible.' ' We have preserved the Bible,' said he, ' the Hindoo Princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power ; and they respect our religion. We have also converts

from time to time ; but in this Christian duty we are not so active as we once were ; besides, it is not so credible now to become Christian, in our low estate '. . . (p. 117)

Meeting the Metropolitan Dionysius

. . . He (Mar Dionysius) told me that all my conversations with the priests since my arrival in the country had been communicated to him. 'You have come.' said he, 'to visit a declining Church, and I am now an old man : but the hopes of its seeing better days cheer my old age, though I am not alive to see them.' I submitted to the Bishop my wishes in regard to the translation and printing of the Holy Scriptures. 'I have already fully considered the subject,' said he, 'and have determined to call the most learned of my clergy to my aid. It is work which will illuminate these dark regions, and God will give it his blessing.' I was much pleased when I heard this pious resolution of the venerable man ; for I had now ascertained that there are upwards of 200,000 Christians in South India, besides the Syrians, who speak the Malabar language. The next subject of importance to my mind, was the collection of useful manuscripts in the Chaldiac and Syriac Languages ; and the Bishop was pleased to say that he would assist my inquiries and add to my collection. He descanted with great satisfaction on the hope of seeing printed Syriac Bibles from England ; and said they would be a treasure to his Church. (p.130)

Syrian-Anglican Union

Since my coming amongst this people, I had cherished the hope that they might be one day united with the Church of England. When I reflected on the immense power of the Romish Church in India, and on our inability to withstand its influence, alone, it appeared to be an object of great consequence to secure the aid and co-operation of the Syrian Church, and sanction of its antiquity in the East. I thought it might be serviceable, at least, to lay such a foundation by the discussion of the subject, as our Church might act upon hereafter, if he should think it expedient. I was afraid to mention the subject to the Bishop at our first interview ; but he himself intimated that he would be glad if I would communicate freely upon it with two of his clergy. I had hitherto observed somewhat of a reserve in those with whom I had conversed on this matter ; and now the cause was explained. The bishop's chaplains confessed to me that they had doubts as to English Ordination. 'The English,' said they, 'may be a warlike and great people ; but their Church, by your own account, is but of recent origin. Whence do you derive your Ordination?' 'From Rome.' 'You derive it from a Church which is our ancient enemy, and with which we would never unite.' They acknowledged that there might be

salvation in every Church where ' the name of Christ was named ' ; but in the question of UNION, it was to be considered that they had existed as a pure Church of Christ from the earliest ages ; that if there was such a thing in the world as Ordination by the laying on of hands, in succession from the Apostles, it was probable that they possessed it ; that there was no record of history or tradition to impeach their claim. I observed that there was reason to believe that the same Ordination had descended from the Apostles to the Church of Rome. ' It might be so : but that Church had departed from the faith '. . .

Our conversation was reported to the Bishop. He wished me to state the advantages of an union. One advantage would be, I observed, that the English Clergymen, or rather Missionaries ordained by the Church of England, might be permitted hereafter to preach in the numerous Churches of Syrians in India, and aid them in promulgation of pure religion, against the prepondering and increasing influence of the Romish Church ; and again, that Ordination by the Syrian Bishop might qualify for preaching in the English Churches in India ; for we had an immense Empire in Hindostan, but few preachers ; and of these few scarcely any could preach in the native languages. The Bishop said, ' I would sacrifice much for such an Union ; only let me not be called to compromise anything of the dignity and purity of our Church.' I told him, we did not wish to degrade, we would rather protect and defend it. All must confess that it was Christ's Church in the midst of a heathen land. The Church of England would be happy to promote its welfare, to revive its spirit, and use it as an instrument of future good in the midst of her own Empire. I took this occasion to observe that there were some rites and practices in the Syrian Church, which our Church might consider objectionable or nugatory. The Bishop confessed that some customs had been introduced during their decline in the latter centuries, which had no necessary connection with the constitution of the Church, and might be removed without inconvenience. He asked whether I had authority from my own Church to make any proposition to him. I answered that I had not : that my own Church scarcely knew that the Syrian Church existed : but I could anticipate the wishes and purposes of good men. He thought it strange that there was no Bishop in India to superintend so large an Empire and said he did not perfectly comprehend our ecclesiastical principles. I told him that we had sent bishops to other countries ; but that our Indian Empire was yet in its infancy. Next day, the Bishop, after conferring with his clergy on the subject, returned an answer in writing to the following effect ; ' That an union with the English Church or, at least, such a connection as should appear to both Churches practicable and expedient, would be a happy event, and favourable to the advancement of religion in India.' . . . (pp. 130-133)

66. KERR ON THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR (1806 A.D.)

Dr. Kerr, senior chaplain of the Madras Presidency, was sent by the authorities of the Presidency to investigate the conditions of Christians in Malabar and Travancore. His visit took place before that of Buchanan. His report is another important source of information about Christianity in Kerala at that time. Cited in C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, pp. 148-151.

In the creeds and doctrines of the Christians of Malabar, internal evidence exists of their being a primitive church ; for the supremacy of the Pope is denied, and the doctrine of transubstantiation never has been held by them. They also regarded, and still regard, the worship of images as idolatrous, and the doctrine of purgatory to be fabulous. Moreover they never admitted as sacraments, extreme unction, marriage, or confirmation. All which facts may be substantiated on reference to the Acts of the Synod assembled by Don Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa at Udiyamper, in the year 1599.

The Christians on the Malabar Coast are divided into three sects. 1. The St. Thome or Jacobite Christians. 2. The Syrian Roman-Catholics. 3. The Latin Church.

1. The St. Thome Christians still retain their ancient creed and usages, and consider themselves as the descendants of the flock established by St. Thomas, who is generally esteemed the Apostle of the East. Their ancestors emigrated from Syria ; and Syro-Chaldaic is the language in which their church-service is still performed. They admit no images within their churches, but a figure of the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms ; which is considered merely as an ornament, and not a subject of idolatrous worship.

It has been believed that these Christians held the tenets of the Nestorian heresy, and that they were obliged to leave their own country in consequence of persecution. However, it appears that the creed they now hold denies that heresy, and seems to coincide in several points with the creed of Athanasius, but without its damnatory clauses. The service in their Church is performed very nearly after the manner of the Church of England ; and when the Metropolitan was told that it was hoped that one day an union might take place between the two churches, he seemed pleased at the suggestion. In some of their churches, divine service is performed in the Syrian and Latin ritual alternatively, by the priests of the Christians of St. Thomas, who have adhered to their ancient rites, and those who have been united to the Church of Rome.

When the latter have celebrated mass, they carry away the images from the Church before the others enter. The character of these people is marked by a striking superiority over the heathens in every moral *excellence* ; and they are remarkable for their veracity and plain dealing. They are extremely attentive to their religious duties, and abide by the decision of their priests and metropolitan in all cases, whether in spiritual or temporal affairs. They are respected very highly by the Nairs ; and the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin admit them to rank next to the Nairs. Their number it is generally supposed, may be estimated at seventy or eighty thousand. The direct protection of the British Government has been already extended to them ; but as they do not reside within the British territories, I am doubtful how far it may be of use to them. To *unite them to the Church of England* would in my opinion, be a most noble work ; and it is most devoutly to be wished that those who have been driven into the Roman pale, might be recalled to their ancient Church ; a measure which it would not be difficult to accomplish, as the country governments would be likely to second any efforts to that purpose. Their occupations are various as those of other Christians ; but they are chiefly cultivators and artizans : and some of them possess a comfortable, if not a splendid independence. Their clergy marry in the same manner as Protestants. Their residence is entirely inland.

2. The Syrian Roman-Catholics are those who were constrained, after a long struggle, to join the Latin Church, and who still continue in her pale, though distinguished from her in this, that they are allowed, by a dispensation from the Pope, to perform all the services of the Church of Rome in the Syro-Chaldaic language.

They live under the authority of the Metropolitan of Cranganore, and the Bishop of Verapoli. The Roman-Catholic Syrians, it is thought, are much more numerous than the members of the original church. Their clergy, found hundred in number, are spread through the ancient churches ; and, by retaining their language and acting under the direction of the Church of Rome, they leave no means unessayed to draw over their primitive brethren to Latin communion. There are said to be eighty-six parishes of Roman-Catholic Syrians subject to the dioceses of Cranganore and Verapoli. The congregations are reported at ninety thousand. The Hindoos have more respect for the Christians of the original church, than for the converts of the Latin communion.

3. The Latin Roman Catholics are subject to the Primate of Goa, under whom is an archbishop and two bishops.

67. WILLIAM CAREY'S PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE (1806 A.D.)

On 15th May, 1806, William Carey wrote to Andrew Fuller, the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, proposing the convening of a decennial world missionary conference at the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa), with the first meeting being between 1810 and 1812. Fuller dismissed the proposal as a 'pleasing dream.' Though there was actually no connection, much was later made of the fact that the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 was convened just one hundred years after Carey had first proposed the convening of such a meeting. The original letter is preserved in the vestry of St. Mary's Baptist Church, Norwich, England. Cited in Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill, eds., *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 1517-1948, p. 355.

...The Cape of Good Hope is now in the hands of the English ; should it continue so, would it not be possible to have a general association of all denominations of Christians, from the four quarters of the world, kept there once in about ten years ? I earnestly recommend this plan, let the first meeting be in the Year 1810, or 1812 at furthest. I have no doubt but it would be attended with very important effects ; we could understand one another better, and more entirely enter into one another's views by two hours conversation than by two or three years epistolary correspondence.

The churches are numerous ; but as they are in general poor, and are obliged to be supplied with priests from Goa, one vicar holds upon an average five or six churches. The number of Christians composing these churches must be great, as all the fishermen are Roman-Catholics.

68. MONUMENTS TO CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ (c. 1807 A.D.)

Christian Frederick Schwartz (1726-1798) was a German missionary who is especially well known for his various public and diplomatic services during the time he was resident in Tanjore as a missionary and English chaplain. In his memory the Raja of Tanjore and the Madras Government erected monuments in Tanjore and the Church of St. Mary in Fort St. George, Madras, respectively. Cited in Jesse Page, *Schwartz of Tanjore*, pp. 184, 187-188.

Monument erected by Raja Serfojee at Tanjore

To the memory of the

Reverend Christian Frederic Schwartz,

born at Sonnenburg of Neumark, in the Kingdom of Prussia,
the 26th of October, 1726
and died at Tanjore, the 13th February, 1798,
in the seventy-second year of his age.

Devoted from his early manhood to the office of Missionary in the East, the similarity of his situation to that of the first preachers of the Gospel produced in him a similar resemblance to the simple sanctity of the Apostolic character. His natural vivacity won the affections, as his unspotted probity and purity of life alike commanded the reverence, of the Christian, Mohammedan and Hindu ; for Sovereign princes, Hindu and Mohammedan, selected this humble pastor as the medium of political negotiation with the British Government, and the very marble which here records his virtues was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the Raja of Tanjore, Maha Raja Serfogee.

Monument erected by the British Government of Madras Presidency

Sacred to the memory of

The Rev. Christian Frederic Schwartz,

Whose life was one continued effort to imitate the example of
the Blessed Master.

Employed as a Protestant missionary from the Government of Denmark, and in the same character by the Society in England for the Promotion of the Christian Knowledge, he, during a period of fifty years, ' went about doing good ', manifesting, in respect to himself, the most entire abstraction from temporal views, but embracing every opportunity of promoting both the temporal and eternal welfare of others. In him religion appeared not with a gloomy aspect or forbidding mien, but with graceful form and placid dignity. Among the many fruits of his indefatigable labours was the Erection of the Church at Tanjore. The savings from a small salary were, for many years, devoted to this pious work, and the remainder of the expense supplied by individuals at his solicitation. The Christian seminaries of Ramnadporam and in the Tinnevelly province were established by him.

Beloved and honoured by Europeans, he was, if possible, held in still deeper reverence by the Natives of this Country, of every degree and every sect ; and their unbounded confidence in his integrity and truth was, on many occasions, rendered highly beneficial to the public service.

The poor and the injured looked up to him as an unfailing friend and advocate.

The great and powerful concurred in yielding him the highest homage ever paid in this quarter of the globe to European virtue.

The late Hyder Ali Cawn, in the midst of a bloody and vindictive war with the Carnatic, sent orders to his officers 'to permit the venerable father Schwartz to pass unmolested, and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man and means no harm to my Government.'

The late Tuljajee, Raja of Tanjore, when on his death-bed, desired to entrust to his protecting care his adopted son, Serfogee, the present Raja, with the administration of all the affairs of his country. On a spot of ground, granted to him by the same prince, two miles east of Tanjore, he built a house for his residence and made it an Orphan Assylum. Here the last twenty years of his life were spent in the Education and Religious Instruction of children, particularly those of indigent parents, whom he gratuitously maintained and instructed ; and here, on the 13th of February, 1798, surrounded by his infant flock and in the presence of several of his disconsolate brethren, entreating them to continue to make religion the first object of their care, and imploring with his last breath the divine blessing on their labours, he closed his truly Christian career in the 72nd year of his age.

The East India Company, anxious to perpetuate the memory of such transcendent work, and gratefully sensible of the public benefits which resulted from his influence, caused his monuments to be erected ANN. DOM., 1807.

69. BUCHANAN ON THE INQUISITION AT GOA (1808 A.D.)

Claudius Buchanan visited the Great Hall of the Inquisition in Goa in the company of the Inquisitor. He did not himself see the Inquisition in progress, depending upon Dellon for this kind of information. C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, pp. 177-180.

This morning after breakfast my host (the Inquisitor) went to dress for the Holy Office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time for the purpose of showing me the Inquisition. I thought that his countenance was more severe than usual ; and that his attendants were not so civil as before. The truth was, the *midnight scene* was still on my mind. The Inquisition is about a quarter of a mile

distant from the Convent, and we proceeded thither in our *Manjeels*. On our arrival at the place, the Inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

He led me first to the Great Hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars, and attendants of Holy Office. They bowed very low to the Inquisitor, looked with surprise at me. The Great Hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fe. At the procession described by Dellon in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed his hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the Inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, 'Would not the Holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms and thence to spacious apartments of the chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these he brought me back again to the Great Hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, Father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be'. I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the Inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to shew me the prisoners and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down', said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British Government, to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Shew me the chamber of Torture; and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment,

are now practiced within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public Auto da Fe. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing, that you are afraid of exposing the real state of Inquisition in India.' To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply ; but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good Father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition, after having seen the interior) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, shew me the captives and the dungeons ; be pleased then merely to answer this question ; for I shall believe your word :— How many prisoners are there now below, in the cells of the Inquisition ?' The Inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. He shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume ; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

From the place of Inquisition I went to the place of burning, in the *Camp Santo Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fe. It is close to the Palace, that the viceroy and his court may witness the execution ; for it has ever been the policy of the Inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the State. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine, which was first preached to India in the Apostolic age, and that bloody code, which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name ; and I pondered on the mysterious dispensation, which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition, with their racks, and flames, to visit these lands, before the heralds of the Gospel of Peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The Inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning ; for I was to receive from the chief Inquisitor a letter, which he said he would give me before I left the place, for the British Resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the Inquisitor. I entered the Great Hall, and went up

directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty Crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes, and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the Inquisitor. As I walked up the Hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the Inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second Inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief Inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman I pointed to her, and said to him with some emphasis, 'Behold, Father, another victim of the holy Inquisition!' He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed, and I took my last leave of Josephus a Doloribus, without uttering a word.

70. WARD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SERAMPORE TRANSLATIONS ESTABLISHMENT (1811 A.D.)

The Serampore Mission's project to translate the Christian scriptures into a large number of Indian and other Asian languages required a well organised translation and printing effort. By the time William Carey died in 1834 some six versions of the entire Bible had been published, together with twenty-three versions of the New Testament, and smaller portions in ten other languages. The missionary-printer, William Ward, gave the following account of the more practical side of the project in a letter written to a cousin in England late in 1811. Cited in S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, p. 283.

As you enter, you see your cousin, in a small room, dressed in a white jacket, reading or writing, and looking over the office, which is more than 170 feet long. There you find Indians translating the Scriptures into the different tongues, or correcting proof-sheets. You observe, laid out in cases, types in Arabic, Persian, Nagari, Telugu, Panjabi, Bengali, Marathi, Chinese, Oriya, Burmese, Kanarese, Greek, Hebrew and English. Hindus, Mussulmans and Christian Indians are busy,—composing, correcting, distributing. Next are four men throwing off the Scripture sheets in the different languages; others folding the sheets and delivering them to the large store-room; and six Mussulmans do the binding. Beyond the office are the varied type-castors, besides a group of men making ink; and in a spacious open-walled-round place, our paper-mill, for we manufacture our own paper.

71. SELECTIONS FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY CHARTER OF 1813

Ever since Wilberforce's proposals to make education and 'religious improvement' a responsibility of the Company in India were defeated in 1793, Evangelicals within the Company and the British Parliament had agitated to change the policy. When the Company charter was revised again, in 1813, they were largely successful. Though the Company was not to assume direct responsibility for missionary work it was now directed to allow missionaries sent by other British agencies to work in its Indian territories; and the Company *was* made responsible for the maintenance of a religious establishment for the benefit of the British residents. The relevant resolutions and sections are given here. Cited in C. J. Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, pp. 224-229.

Resolutions

XII. Resolved. That it is the opinion of this Committee (of the House of Commons) that it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance.

XIII. Resolved. That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions of India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

Provided always that the authority of the Local Governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained.

Sections

33. And whereas it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the Native Inhabitants of British Dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and

religious and moral improvement ; and in furtherance of the above subjects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs, so as the authority of the Local Government respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country is preserved, and the principles of the British Government, on which the Natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained ; and whereas it is expedient to make provision for granting permission to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the above purpose, and also to persons desirous of going to and remaining there for other lawful purposes ; be it therefore enacted, that when and as often as any application shall be made to the said court of Directors, for or on behalf of any person or persons desirous of proceeding to the East Indies for permission so to do, the said Court shall, unless they shall think fit to comply therewith, transmit every such application within one month from the receipt thereof to the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India . . . .

42. And be it further enacted, that the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, by force and virtue of this Act, shall have and be invested with full power and authority to superintend, direct, and control all orders and instructions whatsoever, which in anywise relate to or concern any rules, regulations, or establishments whatsoever of the several Colleges established by the said Company of Calcutta or Fort Saint George, or of any Seminaries which may be established under the authority of any of the Governments of the said Company, in the same manner, to all intents and purposes, and under and subject to all such and the like regulations and provisions, as if such orders and instructions immediately related to and concerned the Government and revenues of the said territorial acquisitions in the East Indies.

51. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that such Bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever, either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may from time to time be limited to him by his Majesty by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom.

52. And be further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, from time to time, if he shall think fit, by His Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom to grant to such Bishop so to be nominated and appointed as aforesaid, such ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the exercise of such episcopal functions, within the East Indies and parts aforesaid, as His Majesty shall think necessary for the administering holy ceremonies, and for the superintendence and good government of the Ministers

of the Church Establishment within the East Indies and parts aforesaid ; any Law, Charter, or other matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

72. ABBE DUBOIS ON THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA (1815-1816 A.D.)

Three of the letters written by Abbe J. A. Dubois, a Roman Catholic missionary serving in Mysore, describing the condition of Christianity in India in his day have been preserved. These letters are marked by an extreme pessimism concerning the state of Christianity in India and its future prospects. They thus reveal the effects on the Indian missions of the Roman Catholic Church of the Enlightenment and related developments in Europe. The first letter, from which the following passage is taken, was addressed to Rev. W. J., Mysore, and is dated August 7th, 1815. The second and third letters are addressed to Rev. G. B., Bombay, and are dated December, 1815, and November 16th, 1816, respectively. All three letters may be seen on Microfilm in the Archives of the United Theological College, Bangalore, *V. P.* 36. Abbe J. A. Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, pp. 1-14.

. . . The question to be considered may be reduced to these two points : First, Is there a possibility of making real converts to Christianity among the natives in India ? Secondly, Are the means employed for that purpose, and above all, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the idioms of the country, likely to conduce to this desirable object ?

To both interrogatories I will answer in the negative : it is my decided opinion, first, that under existing circumstances there is no human possibility of converting the Hindoos, to any sect of Christianity, and, secondly, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, so far from conducing to this end, will, on the contrary, increase the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion, and prove in many respects detrimental to it. These assertions, coming from a person of my profession, may to many appear bold and extraordinary ; I will therefore support them by such arguments and proofs as long experience and practice in the career of proselytism have enabled me to adduce.

Before I go farther, it will not be amiss to say a few words about the manner in which the Christian religion was first brought into the country ; and on the industry with which its interests were managed by the first preachers.

The Christian religion of the catholic persuasion was introduced into India a little more than three hundred years ago ; at the epoch

of the Portuguese invasions... (the writer goes on to describe the introduction of Roman Catholic Christianity).

Such is the abridged history of the rise, the progress, and the decline of the Christian religion in India. The low state to which it is now reduced, and the contempt in which it is held, cannot be surpassed. There is not at present in the country (as mentioned before) more than a third of the Christians who were to be found in it eighty years ago, and this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy. It will dwindle to nothing in a short period ; and if things continue as they are now going on, within less than fifty years there will, I fear, remain no vestige of Christianity among the natives.

The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most contempt, is at present become, I will venture to say, almost an object of horror. It is certain that during the last sixty years no proselytes or but a very few have been made. Those Christians who are still to be met with in several parts of the country, and whose numbers (as I have just mentioned), diminishes every day, are the offsprings of the converts made by the Jesuits before that period. The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time, are found among the lowest tribes ; so are individuals who, driven out from their castes, on account of their vices or scandalous transgressions of their usages, are shunned afterwards by every body as outlawed men, and have no other resource left than that of turning Christians, in order to form new connexions in society ; and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoos against Christianity.

In fact, how can our holy religion prosper amidst so many insurmountable obstacles ? A person who embraces it becomes a proscribed and outlawed man ; he loses at once all that can attach him to life. A husband, a father is forthwith forsaken and deserted by his own wife and children, who obstinately refuse to have any further intercourse with their degraded relative. A son is unmercifully driven out of his paternal mansion, and entirely deserted by those who gave him birth.

By embracing the Christian religion, therefore, a Hindoo loses his all. Relations, kindred, friends—all desert him ! Goods, possessions, inheritance, all disappear !

Where is the man furnished with sufficient stock of cynical fortitude to be able to bear such severe trials ?

The very name of Christian carried along with it the stain of infamy ; and the proposal alone to become a convert to Christianity is considered by every well-bred Hindoo as a very serious insult, is instantly resented, as I have witnessed in repeated instances. Such a proposal must always be made with greatest prudence and circumspections, in order not to be exposed to severe reproof from those to whom it is addressed.

73. MUNRO ON THE INTRODUCTION OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY TO KERALA (1816 A.D.)

This is an extract from a letter written by Colonal Munro, British Resident in Cochin and Travancore (1812-1816), to the Church Missionary Society as it was beginning its 'mission of help' among the Syrian churches. It discusses the best means of introducing Protestant Christianity, which he sees as of benefit to the British Power. It is thus a good example of the difficulty some officials had in distinguishing between their genuine evangelical commitments and their official interests. *Missionary Register* 1816, pp. 452-454. Cited in P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society* 1816-1846, Appendix A, Letter No. I, pp. 340-341.

Regarding as I do, the diffusion of genuine Christianity in India, as a measure equally important to the interest of humanity and to the stability of our power, I view, with the most sincere pleasure, the commencement of a systematic plan for the attainment of that object ; and the Society may be assured of my earnest desire to co-operate with them, by any means in my power, in the furtherance of their designs.

With respect to Mr. Norton, and all the persons who may be employed by the Society in Travancore, I wish that they may be desired to receive my advice concerning the general application of their services ; but to consider themselves as entirely under the control and inspection of the Society, in their detailed proceedings. They will report to the Society and obey its orders, according to the rules observed by the Missionaries acting in the Company's territories ; but from the circumstance of Travancore being a foreign state, it is necessary, for many reasons, that the Missionaries should attend to the advice of the Resident, whose support will indeed be essential to the success of their exertions. I entertain a confident hope that by prudent and active measures, much may be effected in Travancore for the advancement of Christianity.

The Christians of all descriptions in Travancore have, since my arrival in this country, been relieved from most oppressive burdens ...Released from civil oppression they will be better disposed, I hope, to apply with cheerfulness to their religious duties.

An efficient and extended system of education, particularly in English language, will attribute more effectively than any other plan to the early and substantial advancement of the Protestant religion in India. The prevalence of the Portuguese language has substantially promoted the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion. Indeed from the situation of the Portuguese in India, strong arguments may be adduced for the diffusion of the English language, as a means of supporting the British Power, as well as of extending the Protestant religion ; for the name and influence of the Portuguese nation have been preserved by the prevalence of their language, long after the subversion of their power by the Dutch ; and if the Portuguese were in a state to undertake conquests in India, their design would be greatly facilitated by the extension which their language and customs have obtained ...

An establishment consisting of one principal and subordinate courts have been founded in Travancore and I have succeeded in procuring the appointment of a Christian Judge to act with each of these tribunals. This arrangement is highly favourable to the protection and respectability of the Christians in Travancore ; and it is also agreeable to the Brahmins and Nairs who find in the integrity of the Christian Judges a check on the venality and corruption of the other judges. I have, however, experienced difficulties in procuring respectable and honest men to fill the situation of Christian Judges to the several courts and that office in the principal court is still vacant in consequence of my having been unable to find a person qualified for the execution of its duties. The appointment of an English Missionary to that office would be attended with advantages to the cause of Christianity by the protection which it would afford to the Christians and by the credit which the wiser and impartial conduct of the Judge would reflect on the religion that he professed... and it might perhaps be in the power of the Society to recommend fit persons for these situations, particularly in the principal court ...

I am sorry to say that the internal dissensions among the Syrians have increased since Ramban Joseph has been elected to the office of the bishop. I expect that all the principal ecclesiastical authorities among the Syrians will arrive here in the course of a few days; and I shall endeavour to make some arrangement for the settlement of their disputes ...

74. SPECIFIC OBJECTS OF SERAMPORE COLLEGE (1818 A.D.)

In the year 1818 a college was established at Serampore by William Carey and his colleagues. The objects given below are taken from the first college prospectus (1818), pp. 9-10. Cited in Sunil Kumar Chathopadhyaya, *Banglar Nabajagarane William Carey Otar Parijan* (William Carey and his Associates in the awakening of Bengal), Appendix XI.

1. The College shall secure the instruction in the Sungskritu language of all the native Christian youth admitted, and of a certain number in Arabic and Persian, for which purpose, the ablest native teachers shall be retained in these languages, at adequate salaries.

2. It shall secure their being further instructed in the various shastrus of the Hindoos ; and in the doctrines which form the basis of the Pouranic and Buddhist systems. They shall also be instructed in those which relate to Hindoo Law.

3. They shall also be instructed in the sacred scriptures, which they shall regularly study and in lucidation of which lectures shall be constantly delivered.

4. They shall be further instructed in general history, chronology, geography, astronomy and the various branches of naturall science.

5. The institution shall secure their practical instruction in the nature and management of schools as adapted to the various countries of India and Eastern Asia.

6. It shall further secure instruction of a certain number in the English language ;—and a number selected for that purpose in Latin and Greek.

7. As many of these youths as shall give decided evidence of piety, and of possessing a fitness for the ministry, shall be placed on a course of studies preparatory to the ministry of the gospel.

8. The College shall admit such Hindoo and Mussulman Youth as wish to enlarge their minds, to its various lectures without any restriction ; and at the direction of the committee, admit as many from all parts of India as may support themselves or be supported by some friend to study under the various teachers in the College.

9. It shall finally carry forward by means of the officers and students of the College, the translation into Sungskritu of the best

works in the English language, till Sungskritu with its dialects shall be enriched with the most valuable works on science, morality and religion which the English language possesses.

75. LETTER OF MUNRO TO BAILY (1818 A.D.)

This letter, dated Nagercoil, 23rd May 1818, from the British Resident, Col. Munro, to the C.M.S. missionary, Rev. Baily, discusses the objectives of the C.M.S. college, and various desirable changes to be instituted among the Syrian Christians. Cited in P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society* 1816-1846, Appendix A, Letter No. 25, pp. 364-365.

...All priests must, of course, be educated at the College previously to their ordination, and the laity should also to the greatest practicable extent receive instruction there. All this will in a primary degree depend upon your exertions and I am satisfied that you will spare no efforts to render the College eminently conducive to the general and early improvement of the Syrians. I hope that you continue your endeavours to introduce the English language among the branches of study at the College. This is an object of great importance, and claims your serious consideration. The translation of the English Liturgy is another object of primary importance, for I think if it were well translated it might, without any difficulty, be substituted in all the churches for their present forms of worship. You will of course gradually prepare the minds of the Syrians by a reference to the Scriptures to abandon the seven sacraments, the Mass, and other remnants of Roman Catholic usage...

76. RAMMOHUN ROY ON SATI AND THE DEFENCE OF WOMEN (1820 A.D.)

Raja Rammohun Roy, the Bengali reformer who worked closely with William Carey in the effort to have *sati* made illegal, here describes the arguments advanced by both sides in meetings held on the subject in 1818 and 1820. The 'opponent' of *sati* reflects the views of Rammohun Roy. It will be noted that the argument centres around the question of whether women are worthy to outlive their husbands. The complete document is found in *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 359-360.

Section IX

Advocate. I alluded, in page 18, line 18, to the real reason for our anxiety to persuade widows to follow their husbands, and for our endeavours to burn them pressed down with ropes ; viz., that women are by nature of inferior understanding, without resolution,

unworthy of trust, subject to passions, and void of virtuous knowledge ; they, according to the precepts of the sastra, are not allowed to marry again after the demise of their husbands, and consequently despair at once of all worldly pleasures ; hence it is evident, that death to these unfortunate widows is preferable to existence ; for the great difficulty which a widow may experience by living a purely ascetic life, as prescribed by the Sastras, is obvious ; therefore, if she do not perform concremation, it is probably that she may be guilty of such acts as may bring disgrace upon her paternal and maternal relations and those that may be connected with her husband. Under these circumstances, we instruct them from their early life in the idea of concremation, holding out to them heavenly enjoyments in company with their husbands, as well as their beatitude of their relations, both by birth and marriage, and their reputation in this world. From this many of them, on the death of their husbands, become desirous of accompanying them ; but to remove every chance of their trying to escape from the blazing fire, in burning them we first tie them down to the pile.

Opponent. The reason you have now assigned for burning widows alive is indeed your true motive, as we are well aware ; but the faults which you have imputed to women are not planted in their constitution by nature ; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindu community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy ; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity ? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding ? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught to him, we may consider him as deficient ; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority...

Secondly, you charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised : for we constantly perceive, in a

country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband ; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly, with regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed by women, I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayed men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, but never consider as criminal the misconduct of men towards women...

In the fourth place, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes ; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all wordly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

Fifthly, the accusation of their want of virtuous knowledge is an injustice. Observe what pain, what slighting, what contempt, and what affiictions their virtue enables them to support ! How many Kulin Brahmins are there who marry ten or fifteen wives for the sake of money, that never see the greater number of them after the day of marriage, and visit others only three or four times in the course of their life. Still amongst those women, most, even without seeing or receiving any support from their husbands, living dependent on their fathers or brothers, and suffering much distress, continue to preserve their virtue ; and when Brahmins, or those of other tribes, bring their wives to live with them, what misery do the women most suffer ? At marriage the wife is recognised as half of her husband, but in after-conduct they are treated worse than inferior animals. For the woman is employed to the work of a slave in the house, such as, in her turn, to clean the place very early in the morning, whether cold or wet, to scour the dishes, to wash the floor, to cook night and day, to prepare and serve food for her husband . . . These are facts occuring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion, that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.

77. RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND ETHICS (c. 1820 A.D.)

Raja Rammohun Roy, a learned and progressive Hindu of Bengal, made a serious study of Christianity. He arrived at the conclusion that while the doctrinal arguments of Christian theologians are of little significance, the ethical teaching of Jesus is superior to that found in other religions. This passage is from *The Precepts of Jesus, The Guide to Peace and Happiness*, pp.xxi-xxiv, in *English Works*, pp.483-485. Cited in William Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 575-577.

A conviction in the mind of its total ignorance of the nature and of the specific attributes of the Godhead, and a sense of doubt respecting the real essence of the soul, give rise to feelings of great dissatisfaction with our limited powers, as well as with all human acquirements which fail to inform us on these interesting points. On the other hand, a notion of the existence of a supreme superintending power, the author and preserver of this harmonious system, who has organized and who regulates such an infinity of celestial objects, and a due estimation of that law which teaches that man should do unto others as he would wish to be done by, reconcile us to human nature, and tend to render our existence agreeable to ourselves and profitable to the rest of mankind. The former of these sources of satisfaction, namely, a belief in God, prevails generally, being derived either from tradition and institution, or from an attentive survey of the wonderful skill and contrivance displayed in the works of nature. The latter, although it is partially taught also in every system of religion with which I am acquainted, is principally inculcated by Christianity. This essential characteristic of the Christian religion I was for a long time unable to distinguish as such, amidst the various doctrines I found insisted upon in the writings of Christian authors, and in the conversation of those teachers of Christianity with whom I have had the honour of holding communication. Amongst those opinions, the most prevalent seems to be that no one is justly entitled to the appellation of Christian who does not believe in the divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, as well as in the divine nature of God, the Father of all created beings. Many allow a much greater latitude to the term Christian, and consider it as comprehending all who acknowledge the Bible to contain the revealed will of God, however they may differ from others in their interpretations of particular passages of scripture ; whilst some require from him who claims the title of Christian only an adherence to the doctrines of Christ, as taught by himself, without insisting on implicit confidence in those of the Apostles, as being except when speaking from inspiration, like other men, liable to mistake and error. That they were so is

obvious from the several instances of differences of opinion amongst the Apostles recorded in the Acts and Epistles.

Voluminous works, written by learned men of particular sects for the purpose of establishing the truth, consistency, rationality, and priority of their own peculiar doctrines, contain such a variety of arguments, that I cannot hope to be able to adduce here any new reasonings of sufficient novelty and force to attract the notice of my readers. Besides, in matters of religion particularly, men in general, through prejudice and partiality to the opinions which they once form, pay little or no attention to opposite sentiments (however reasonable they may be) and often turn a deaf ear to what is most consistent with the laws of nature, and conformable to the dictates of human reason and divine revelation. At the same time, to those who are not biased by prejudice, and who are, by the grace of God, open to conviction, a simple enumeration and statement of the respective tenets of different sects may be a sufficient guide to direct their inquiries in ascertaining which of them is the most consistent with the sacred traditions, and most acceptable to common sense. For these reasons, I decline entering into any discussion on these points, and confine my attention at present to the task of laying before my fellow creatures the words of Christ, with a translation from the English into Sungskrit, and the language of Bengal. I feel persuaded that by separating from the other matters contained in the New Testament, the moral precepts found in that book, these will be more likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degree of understanding. For historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them. On the contrary, moral doctrines, tending evidently to the maintenance of the peace and harmony of mankind at large, are beyond the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to the learned and unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank, or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain, and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature, and is also well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.

78. AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MATTANCHERI OATH OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS (1821 A.D.)

The following is an account of the events leading upto the Mattancheri oath, when a portion of the Syrian Christians withdrew from the Roman communion. The author, a priest named Abraham, was writing from the Jacobite point of view to W. H. Mill. Cited in A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, pp. 50-53. This is a translation of the original Syriac.

In the year 52 of our Lord, the Apostle Thomas came to India and baptized many people. He built five churches, over which he set two men, and he went to Mailapore, where he evangelised, died, and was buried.

In the year 345, a Christian merchant named Thomas came to India by order of our Father the Patriarch Mar Ignatious. With him came also bishops, priests, deacons, and Christian laymen, who inhabited this land, and preached to us the way of truth. They selected men from those who had previously received ordination from the Apostle Thomas, placed them at the head of the diocese of India, and ordained them archdeacons.

In the year 825 of our Lord, a merchant called Job came and dwelt in this land, with two Syrian bishops. We were orthodox Jacobites in our habits from the beginning of the preaching of the Apostle Thomas down to the year 1545. After that came a bishop named Abraham, by order of Mar Elijah, and brought many books with him. We received ordination from him, because we were deprived of bishops.

In that time the king of the Portuguese had under his command the fortress of Cochin, where he conducted Mar Abraham by force ; after that he brought him to Rome and made him submit to the Pope, who gave him power over all the dioceses of India. He came back here and he preached to us the habits of the Franks. After the death of Mar Abraham, Purgis, the Governor of Cochin, gave much money to the King of Cochin who then greatly molested the archdeacon and the faithful of the Syrian community. In the year of our Lord 1598, we forsook the habits of the Syrians, and followed those of the Franks, and in that time the priests refrained from lawful marriage.

In the year 1653 our Father Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, came to Mylapore. Two deacons went from Malabar to the church of Mailapore, in order to worship before the grave of St. Thomas

the Apostle. When our Father Mar Ignatius saw the deacons, and recognised them, he wept, and they also wept with him. This scene having been noticed by the Franks, they set up matchmen over them, in order to impede the deacons from seeing and speaking to our Father Mar Ignatius ; there was no bishop from our own race, and they were the masters of the dioceses of India. Once, however, our Father Mar Ignatius made a secret sign to the deacons, and granted them a letter of recommendation to elect bishop the Archdeacon Thomas, and gave them leave to depart. When the deacons reached Malabar, they delivered the Patriarchal letter to the Archdeacon Thomas, who despatched letters to this effect to the churches. When all the priests, deacons, and Christian laymen of Malabar came to him, and heard our Father, Mar Ignatius, had arrived at the fortress of Cochin, they repaired there without delay and implored the pagan king of Cochin to summon their Father Mar Ignatius, and deliver him to them. The king answered them : 'To-morrow I will summon him and deliver him to you.' This, however, became known to the Franks who gave much money to the king of Cochin, and he permitted them to do as they wished.

In that very night the Franks tied a large stone round the neck of the blessed Patriarch, and threw him into the depth of the sea. The moment the blessed Patriarch died, the pagan king also died. After these events all the Syrian parties assembled in the church of Mattancheri, and each one of them swore in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that they will have no more love for, nor union and communion with, the Franks, and they established Archdeacon Thomas the head of all the churches of the Syrians, in accordance with the order of our Father the Patriarch Ignatius. After this, in the year 1660, Bishop Joseph came to Malabar, but we did not follow him. A short time after this bishop Joseph called a priest named Alexander, from the family of bishop Thomas, and by fraud and deceit he persuaded him to receive episcopal ordination ; this divided the Syrians of Malabar into two camps.

In the year one thousand . . . our Father Mar Gregory came to us, and in the year 1685 we were visited also by our Fathers Mar Basil the Maphryan and Bishop Mar John, who turned us away from the habits of the Franks, and made us contract the habits of our fathers, which we have faithfully kept down to our own days without addition or diminution. In the year 1708 our Lord Bishop Mar Gabriel came to us by order of Mar Elijah the Catholicose, and preached to us the doctrine of two natures and two persons in Christ, and because of this a great schism occurred in our midst. A few people from our camp and the camp of the Franks followed him. He offered the sacrifice of the Mass with leavened and unleavened bread, and instituted fasting according to the habit of the

Syrians. After his death, however, and the death of those who had followed him, everybody reverted to the ancient habits.

On Tuesday, 23rd April, 1751, the Maphryan Basil, the Metropolitan Gregory and the Chorepiscopus George came to us ; and Mar Basil ordained John the great (or the elder) bishop. May their prayer be a rampart to us ! In the year 1595 a Synod was held in the church of Autin Firur ; its heads were : bishop Alesos (Alexis), priest Franciscus, called the expert, priest Androscon, priest Jacob of the church of Palluruti in Malabar, and Archdeacon George, the Governor of the holy churches in Malabar.

79. KRISHNA PAL'S ACCOUNT OF HIS CONVERSION (1822 A.D.)

Krishna Pal, the first convert through the work of the Serampore Mission, gave an account of his conversion in a letter to a friend in England. The importance of this document, apart from the events it describes, lies in the fact that we have very few writings from Indian Christians themselves during this period. The letter, probably translated from the Bengali original by the Serampore missionaries, was published in the Baptist Missionary Society's *Periodical Accounts*, 1822. Cited in R. D. Paul, *Changed Lives*, pp. 8-11.

My dear Friend in Lord Jesus,

I have not the pleasure of knowing you in the flesh but if I remain steadfast in the Lord Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you in the world to come. I have received the letter you sent me and bless God that though personally strangers we are united in spirit.

Before I embraced Christianity, I worshipped my brahmin and guru. When he visited me, I washed his feet ; and with the hope of obtaining the divine favour, sprinkled my head and breast with the water. This relieved me from the devotions of the day, because there is no occasion for worship the day the presence of the guru can be enjoyed. While thus spending my time I was taken seriously ill, when a person from Ghosepara came and told me that if I become the follower of the true guru (Chitunya), I would undoubtedly recover. To this I consented, and he gave me the initiatory *mantar*. Some time after I had received it, I recovered my health, and assuming the character of a guru, collected many disciples, to whom I imparted the same *mantars*. Thus I spent sixteen years of my life, after which God in his great mercy sent his Gospel to India.

One day, on my way to the market, I met Dr. Thomas, Mr. Ward and Mr. Brundsdon, who had gone out to the bazaar to preach.

Dr. Thomas called me and said, ' O Bengali brother, where is the school of the brahmins ? ' I answered, ' At Bullubpoor.' He inquired whether he could visit it, and return in an hour. I said, No ; on which he told me he was going to proclaim glad tidings and asked me to attend, to which I consented. He then declared to me the tidings of salvation through the death of Christ ; and said, that those who believed in his death, would be saved from sin, as he offered his life a sacrifice for sinners, because the great sins of mankind required so amazing a sacrifice. On that day the Lord was gracious to me. I considered that neither in the Shastras, nor among the Ghosepara disciples was sin prohibited.

Day after day I examined the question with anxiety among my friends and relations and began to seek an acquaintance with the missionaries. A circumstance soon after happened, in which I have to acknowledge the rich mercies of the Lord. As I was walking toward my tank, my foot slipped and I dislocated my right shoulder-bone. While I was suffering under this affliction, a relative told me there was a surgeon at the mission house and requested me to call on him or entreat him to visit me. I immediately sent my daughter and the child of a friend to beg his assistance. The missionaries were then sitting down to breakfast ; the doctor seeing the two children, inquired their errand. My daughter answered, ' My father has broken his arm and is in great torment ; will you come and see him ? ' On which Dr. Thomas and his brethren came to my house, and set the bone, telling me that a father chastises the son he loves ; using likewise another simile that a father by making an incision on the arm of his child, saves it from the smallpox. In the afternoon they visited me again with some printed papers, which they gave to me and the by-standers to read. In them I read, with delight, that he who confesses and forsakes his sins obtains salvation through the intercession of Christ. On my recovery, I continued to visit the mission family, where Mr. Ward and Mr. F. Carey used to read and expound the Scriptures to me.

Dr. Thomas one day asked me whether I understood Mr. Wards' instruction. I said I understood that the Lord Jesus Christ gave his life up for the salvation of sinners ; and that I believed it, and so did Gokool, my friend. He then said, ' Now I can call you my brother ; let us eat together.' The table was then laid out for tiffin and Gokool and I sat down to eat, for the first time, with the missionaries. This circumstance was quickly noised abroad through the town by means of the servants ; in consequence of which, we were illtreated by the populace on our return home and abused as feringees.

Soon after, my connexions came and carried away my eldest daughter. Hearing of this, Dr. Thomas took two of my daughters

home with him, leaving the youngest with me. My neighbours then took my wife and me before the magistrate, who inquired what crime I had committed. They replied that I had eaten with Europeans, and become a feringee. The magistrate said that he could not interfere and sent us to the Governor, who put the same questions to my accusers, and received the same answers. He told them I had not become a feringee but a Christian, and that had done right. He likewise forbade their injuring me ; on which I informed him how my relatives had taken away my daughter. He immediately sent two persons for them and commanded them to restore her to me. They said I had lost caste, but she had not, and ought not therefore to be permitted to remain with me. After considerable altercation she was given up to me.

Returning home with her we were assailed and illtreated by a large crowd. My wife on this burst into tears and said that all our countrymen would from thenceforward esteem us outcastes. Drs. Carey and Marshman were at this time in search of us, on seeing whom the crowd dispersed a little ; and the former coming up endeavoured to console my wife, but was himself overpowered with tears, while he told her that the distress they now suffered originated in no crime they had committed, and arose from their attachment to the Lord Jesus Christ, who should undoubtedly comfort and console them.

On our return home, Gokool said, ' O brother, we are no sooner delivered from one difficulty than another threatens us. Our relatives and friends have determined to disguise themselves as robbers and murder us to-night, to prevent our destroying the caste of others.' I immediately sent a message to Mr. Ward who wrote to the Governor, by whom a sepoy was sent to guard my house and to prevent any disturbance.

The next day Dr. Thomas sent for me and said that he should eat with me at my house that day, but requested that I would incur no extra expense on his account. I prepared the meal at Gokool's house. Dr. Thomas arrived at two the next afternoon ; on his entering the door, Gokool's wife and mother ran out, while Gokool, his son, my four daughters and I, sat down with our European guest. He asked a blessing before and returned thanks after the meal. On his return home, he was so overcome with joy that he fell into a state of derangement.

Soon after, Gokool, my wife, her sister, Mr. F. Carey, and I were received into the church, but on the Sabbath morning, as the missionaries came to my house to converse with us on the subject of baptism, Gokool and the two women through bashfulness declined the ordinance, so that only Mr. F. Carey and I were

baptized. The rumour of my baptism having been previously circulated abroad, many from Chandernagore, Calcutta, and other places, together with my relatives, attended to witness it.

80. RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY'S CRITICISM OF MISSIONARIES (1823 A.D.)

Following publication of his *Precepts of Jesus* (c. 1920), Raja Rammohun Roy entered into controversy with missionaries like Joshua Marshman of Serampore. He started a magazine as a vehicle for expressing his side of this controversy. The following passage is taken from this magazine and is found in his *English Works*, pp .145-147. Cited in William Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 578-580.

For a period of upwards of fifty years, this country (Bengal, has been in exclusive possession of the English nation, during the first thirty years of which from their word and deed it was universally believed that they would not interfere with the religion of their subjects, and that they truly wished every man to act in such matters according to the dictates of his own conscience. Their possessions in Hindoostan and their political strength have, through the grace of God, gradually increased. But during the last twenty years, a body of English Gentlemen who are called missionaries have been publicly endeavouring, in several ways, to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives various books, large and small, reviling both religions, and abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former ; the second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of that of others ; the third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain or from any other motives, these gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example.

It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries like wise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey, Persia, &c. which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable

act. For wise and good men always feel disinclined to hurt those that are of much less strength than themselves, and if such weak creatures be dependent on them and subject to their authority, they can never attempt, even in thought, to mortify their feelings.

We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries, and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and abstinence from the slaughter even of animals, as well as our division into castes which has been the source of want of unity among us.

It seems almost natural that when one nation succeeds in conquering another, the former, though their religion may be quite ridiculous, laugh at and despise the religion and manners of those that are fallen into their power. For example, Mussulmans, upon their conquest of India, proved highly inimical to the religious exercises of Hindoos. When the generals of Chungezkhan (Ghingis Khan), who denied God and were like wild beasts in their manners, invaded the western part of Hindoostan, they universally mocked at the profession of God and of futurity expressed to them by the natives of India. The savages of Arracan on their invasion of the eastern part of Bengal always attempted to degrade the religion of Hindoos. In ancient days the Greeks and the Romans, who were gross idolators and immoral in their lives, used to laugh at the religion and conduct of their Jewish subjects—a sect who were devoted to the belief of one God. It is therefore not uncommon if the English missionaries, who are of the conquerors of this country, revile and mock at the religion of its natives. But as the English are celebrated for the manifestation of humanity and for administering justice, and as a great many gentlemen among them are noticed to have had an aversion to violate equity, it would tend to destroy their acknowledged character if they follow the example of the former savage conquerors in disturbing the established religion of the country; because to introduce religion by means of abuse and insult, or by affording the hope of worldly gain, is inconsistent with reason and justice. If by the force of argument they can prove the truth of their own religion and the falsity of that of Hindoos, many would of course embrace their doctrines, and in case they fail to prove this, they should not undergo such useless trouble, nor tease Hindoos any longer by their attempts at conversion. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmuns generally reside, and the simple food, such as vegetables &c. which they are accustomed to eat, and the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the missionary gentlemen may not, I hope, abstain from controversy from contempt of them; for truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, high names, or lofty palaces.

81. RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY ON THE PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA (1824 A.D.)

This material was written in a letter to the Rev. Henry Ware of Cambridge, Mass., in reply to a letter from him. It is dated 2nd February, 1824. It deals with the manner in which Christianity should be promoted in India. *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 875-877.

Sir,

With no ordinary feelings of satisfaction I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April last, which together with the queries it enclosed, I had the pleasure of receiving by the hands of my friend Captain Heard. I now beg to be allowed, in the first place, to express my gratitude for your kind notice of a stranger like myself, residing in a remote country : and, secondly, to return my sincere thanks for the most acceptable present of books with which you have favoured me.

I should have answered your letter by the ship *Bengal* ; but I regret to say, that my time and attention had been so much engrossed by constant controversies with polytheists both of the West and East, that I had only leisure to answer by that opportunity a short letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Reed of Boston, and was obliged to defer a reply to your queries until the present occasion. For this apparent neglect I have to request your pardon.

I have now prepared such replies to those questions as my knowledge authorises and my conscience permits ; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter, (to wit, ' Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity, in what degree desirable, and for what reasons ? ') which I pause to answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that ' in every nation he that *feareth* God and worketh *righteousness* is accepted with him,' in what ever form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, and political state of mankind, than any other known religious system.

It is impossible for me to describe the happiness I feel at the idea that so great a body of a free, enlightened, and powerful people, like your countrymen, have engaged in purifying the religion from those absurd, idolatrous doctrines and practices, with which the Greeks, Romans, and Barbarian converts to Christianity have mingled it from time to time. Nothing can be more acceptable

homage to Divine Majesty, or a better tribute to reason, than attempt to root out the idea that the omnipresent Deity should be generated in the womb of a female, and live in a state of subjugation for several years, and lastly offer his blood to another person of the *Godhead*, whose anger could not be appeased except by the sacrifice of a portion of himself in a human form ; so no service can be more advantageous to mankind than an endeavour to withdraw them from the belief that an imaginary faith, ritual observances, or outward marks, independently of good works, can cleanse men from the stain of past sins, and secure their eternal salvation.

Several able friends of truth in England have, in like manner, successfully engaged themselves in the most laudable undertaking. From the nature of her constitution, however, these worthy men have not only to contend with the religious prejudices of education in the popular corruption of Christianity ; but are also opposed by all the force which the Established Church derives from abundant revenues appropriated to the sustainers of her dogmas. Happily for you, it is only prejudice, unarmed with wealth and power, that you have to struggle with, which, of itself, is, I must confess, a sufficiently formidable opponent.

Your country, however, in free inquiry into religious truth, excels even England, and I have therefore every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will soon, throughout the United States, triumph over the present prevailing corruptions. I presume to say, that no native of those States can be more fervent than myself in praying for the uninterrupted happiness of your country, and for what one cannot but deem essential to its prosperity—the perpetual union of all States under one general government. Would not the glory of England soon be dimmed, were Scotland and Ireland separated from her ? This and many other illustrations cannot have escaped from your attention. I think no true and prudent friend of your country could wish to see the power and independence at present secured to all by a general government, exposed to the risk that would follow, were a dissolution to take place, and each state left to pursue its own resources . . .

82. BISHOP HEBER ON CASTEISM AMONG CHRISTIANS (1826 A.D.)

This letter, written by Bishop Heber to C. W. Williams Wynn on May 26, 1826, from the Carnatic, describes the retention of caste attitudes among Christians in that area and in Sri Lanka. Cited by G. U. Pope, in *A Letter to the Tranquebar Missionaries Regarding Their Position, Their Proceedings, and Their Doctrine*, pp. 6-7.

These people, however, Christians as they are, have preserved very many of their ancient usages ; particularly with regard to caste,

which both here and in Ceylon is preserved with a fierceness of prejudice which I have rarely witnessed in Bengal, and which divides almost as perfectly a Sudra from a Pariah Christian, as it did the same individuals while worshippers of Krishna and Siva. The old school Missionaries tolerated all this as a merely civil question of pedigree and wordly distinction, and in the hope that, as their converts became more enlightened, such distinctions would die away. This effect has not followed ; but, on the other hand, some of the younger Missionaries, both German and English, have not only warmly preached against caste, but in the management of their schools, and the arrangement of their congregations, have thwarted it as much as possible.

83. CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF SERAMPORE COLLEGE (1827 A.D.)

The Royal Charter of Incorporation, given by the King of Denmark, following a visit of Dr. Marshman in 1827, gave the Serampore College the authority to award degrees in different faculties. It was the first College in India to secure this status. Cited in George Howells, *The Story of Serampore and its College*, Appendix II, pp. 106-108.

We Frederick the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of Denmark the Venders and Gothers, Duke of Slesvig Holsten, Stormarn, Ditmarsken, Limessborg and Oldenborg, by these writings make known and publicly declare, that whereas William Carey and Joshua Marshman, Doctors of Divinity, and John Clark Marshman, Esq., inhabitants of our town Fredericksnagore (or Serampore) in Bengal, being desirous of founding a College to promote piety and learning particularly among the native Christian population of India, have to secure this object erected suitable buildings and purchased and collected suitable books, maps, etc., and have humbly besought us to grant unto them and such persons as shall be elected by them and their successors to form the Council of the College in the manner to be hereafter named, our Royal Charter of Incorporation that they may the more effectually carry into execution the purposes above-mentioned :—We being desirous to encourage so laudable an undertaking, have of our special grace and free motion ordained, constituted, granted and declared, and by these presents we do for ourselves, our heirs and successors ordain, constitute, grant and declare :

1. That the said William Carey, Joshua Marshman and John Clark Marshman, and such other person or persons as shall successively be elected and appointed the Council of the said College, in the manner hereafter mentioned, shall by virtue of these presents be for ever herafter one body politic and incorporate by the name of the Serampore College for the purpose aforesaid to have

perpetual succession and to have a common seal, and by the said name to use and to be used, to implead and to be impleaded, and to answer and be answered unto in every court and place belonging to us, our heirs and successors . . .

5. And We do hereby further ordain, grant and declare that the Statutes thus made and established by the said three members of the first Council and given or left in writing under their respective hands, shall be valid and in full force at the expiration of ten years from the date of these presents, so that no further Council of the College shall have power to alter, change or vary them in any manner whatever, and that the statutes shall for ever be considered the constitution of the said College. And We do hereby appoint and declare that these statutes shall be made and established by the said William Carey, Joshua Marshman and John Clark Marshman alone, so that in case either of them should die before the expiration of ten years, the power of completing or perfecting these statutes shall devolve wholly on the survivors or survivor ; and that in case all three should die before the expiration of ten years, the statutes which they have left in writing under their hands, or under the hand of the last survivor among them, shall be considered ' The Fundamental Statutes and Constitution of Serampore College', incapable of receiving either addition or alteration, and shall and may be registered in our Royal Court Chancery as ' The Statutes and Constitution of Serampore College ' . . .

7. And We further appoint, grant and declare that the said William Carey, Joshua Marshman and John Clark Marshman, the members of the first Council, and their successors for ever shall have the power of conferring upon the students of the said College, native Christians as well as others, degrees of rank and honour according to their proficiency in as ample a manner as any other such College, yet the said Serampore College shall only have the power of conferring such degrees on the students that testify their proficiency in Science, and no rank or other special right shall be connected therewith in our dominions. And We do hereby further appoint, grant and declare that after the expiration of the said ten years, the said Council of the College and their successors for ever shall have power to make and establish such orders and by-laws as shall appear to them useful and necessary for the government of the said College, and to alter, suspend or appeal those already made, and from time to time make such new ones in their room as shall appear to them most proper and expedient provided the same be not repugnant to the Statutes of the College or the laws of our realm . . .

84. REPLY TO BISHOP WILSON ON THE QUESTION OF CASTE DISTINCTIONS AMONG THE CHRISTIANS OF TANJORE (1828 A.D.)

The Anglican bishop, Daniel Wilson, is well known for his opposition to the maintenance of caste distinctions among Indian Christians. The material here quoted is a reply to Bishop Wilson's questionnaire (Articles of Enquiry on the Question of Caste) by the missionaries in Tanjore. Complete reply cited in H. Bower, *An Essay on Hindu Caste*, pp. 105-110.

I. General

1 and 2. The distinction of caste, though not in its full extent, has been observed among the Christians of Tanjore since the establishment of this Mission by the late Rev. Mr. Schwartz, soon after the year 1762. Mr. Schwartz in permitting, with some restrictions, a custom apparently so opposite and prejudicial to the spirit of the Gospel, to remain in the new congregations, was guided by his own discretion as well as by the example of the Tranquebar Missionaries before him, and that both they and himself were actuated herein by motives of prudence and caution, is plain from several of their letters still extant.

In the course of administration of the Mission affairs since the death of Mr. Schwartz, myself and several of my colleagues successively have endeavoured to act with similar caution and forbearance at the same time seizing every opportunity to soften the mutual prejudices arising from distinction of caste, and to bring our Christians by degrees into closer union with each other as brethren in one Lord and Master, Christ. And we have had the satisfaction to observe, that distinction of caste has, until of late, been seldom the object of controversy among Christians, and has gradually lost a great deal of its importance . . .

4. The higher classes, at least the more intelligent and better informed individuals among the Christians, do not, in the observance of such distinction, act from a supposition that they are morally better than those of a lower class, or entitled to greater spiritual privileges ; but they insist on it merely as a badge of superior rank in society, as an ancient civil prerogative.

5. They neither adhere to such distinction, because they attach any real value to it *per se*, but because by neglecting it they would give offense to high and low among heathens and Christians, lose not only their respect in society, but likewise all their influence among their heathen neighbours and relations.

6. The more bigoted heathens consider every Christian convert, of whatever caste he may be, as degraded, and in former times he was in their opinion undeserving of the rights of social intercourse ; but one who violates or entirely gives up his caste, is treated as an outcast. Every heathen will avoid him more carefully than he would even Pariars, Pallers, and Sackliars.

At present high caste Christians meet with more respect from heathens than formerly, owing partly to their own personal character and conduct, partly to the high stations to which some of them have been advanced. And though the circumstance does not immediately contribute to the furtherance of the Gospel, yet it serves greatly to make Christianity in general more and more respected among the neighbouring heathens. In regard to native priests and high caste catechists this respect is of still greater importance. They gain easier admittance among respective natives of high caste, and meet with more frequent and favourable opportunities to converse with them freely on religious subjects, privileges no Pariar can look for. This respect, however, and all the advantages derived from it, is forfeited for ever, as soon as they violate the observance of caste ; native priests and catechists will thereby render themselves entirely useless to the Mission . . .

II. Church

1. At the church the Christians of the high caste, both men and women, sit on the right, and those of the low caste on the left side of the pulpit, but without any intermediate space between them.

There has never been used a separate chalice and paten for separate castes in the administration of the Lord's Supper. But they go up at different times to the holy table.

2. The appropriation of separate places to the several castes (chiefly two, high and low) though not desirable, will be necessary as long as the distinction of caste itself remains ; for any interference in this respect would at present be looked upon by all of them as an encroachment upon their civil rights. It rests on their own estimate of a proper gradation in the different orders of society, and as both sit according to their rank and station on their respective sides—though they are not so very anxious about it—the natural steps of rank and order are always conspicuous.

III. School

1. No objection has ever been made by native Christians to send their children for instruction to the Mission schools, because they are open to all castes ; nor have they at any time expressed

a wish to have different schools for the higher or lower castes. It ought to be remarked particularly that the teachers are very often of the low caste but this too has never been objected to.

2. The children of one class sit indiscriminately, and take their places only according to their attainments and diligence in their respective lessons. This order has always been willingly submitted to by parents of high caste children.

3. Children of Christian converts do not observe, nor would they be permitted, if they wished to do so, any holidays but those which are of Christian origin. There are four principal heathenish festivals, connected with more or less outward show, which children are fond to look at ; but this is merely curiosity, and is never allowed to interfere with their attendance in the school . . .

IV. Social Intercourse

1. Converts of Christianity from different castes will, in separate places, eat and drink of the same provisions, if they be prepared by a high caste person, but not, if prepared by one of the low caste. The objection is always made on the side of higher caste, not by Sudras only, but by all successively, who have or think to have one caste below them. Thus the Sudra will not eat the meal of a Kammalen, the Kammalen not that of a Parian, the Parian not that of a Pallen, the Pallen not that of a Sacklien, &c., and the two latter, thinking themselves higher or cleverer than the Pariar, will not eat any thing prepared by them. But all will eat what is prepared by a Sudra.

2. No marriage is contracted between parties belonging to two different castes. This custom is strictly observed, not from a religious view of distinction of caste, but principally with the intention of preserving their family interests undivided, and of keeping up their particular trade and calling . . .

V.

Distinction of caste in its full extent, as it prevails among heathens, is certainly a great hindrance to the propagation of Christianity ; for it is so closely interwoven with the Brahmanical system, that while it receives from thence its principal strength, it again becomes a powerful bulwark of Brahmanical imposition ; and in its nature and tendency it opposes the very first principles of the Gospel, humility and love.

That such a barrier, therefore, should be abolished, must be the wish of every one who is desirous of the success of the Gospel

in this country. The experience, however, of more than a century has proved, that it is not at once and by force, that this obstacle is to be removed, but by gentle means and by degrees. Compulsion, as in many other cases, would particularly here greatly increase the evil. Difficulties in bringing Gentiles within the pale of Christianity, already great, would become nearly insurmountable, while the Christian congregations already collected would fall a prey to confusion and contention.

A great point is gained, when through the influence of the gospel distinction of caste becomes divested of all its reference to and connection with idolatry, and is thus reduced to its original shape as a civil distinction in the community. And what more may be done, in order to overcome some remaining prejudices, to which particularly new converts are liable, by a cautious and conciliating proceeding, Mr. Schwartz and other excellent Missionaries have sufficiently shown by their example. Christians who have been carefully instructed and who have been imbibing the spirit of the Gospel, will, though different in caste, always consider and esteem each other as members of one body in Christ, and as joint-heirs with him, they will exercise the Christian law of love, and never refuse their assistance, if they have it in their power, to one, because he belongs to a lower caste.

That the high caste Christians do not intermarry nor eat with those of low caste, is owing to the different occupation and way of living peculiar to the several castes. The labourers in the field, the employment of undertaker, and all the other mean occupations necessary in a community, are according to the ancient Mammul (custom) exclusively the duty of the low caste people, whether heathen or Christian ; nor would they allow any one of another caste to intrude on their trade. This, of course, has a great influence on their way of living.

To oblige, therefore, a man of a higher caste and accustomed to a genteeler way of living, to eat with them, is doing force to common delicacy and to the natural feelings of sense, and may be sometimes of serious consequences to bodily health. Some of the ancient Missionaries once persuaded a Siva convert (who according to the custom of his caste lived only on vegetable food) to eat meat, in order to show that he did not abstain from it on account of superstition and pride. He complied, but nearly died by making the trial !

There is every reason to hope that the more native Christians grow in the knowledge and practice of the truth, the weaker will become their prejudices of every kind : they will more and more approach each other, and by degrees become accustomed to put little or no value on their distinction of caste. But if compulsion

of any kind be resorted to, in order to abolish their distinction, the majority will immediately consider it as a privilege in danger, and attach an importance to it which it never had before. Jealousy will engender discord, and social intercourse, such as it has been, will cease. In short, a breach will be made, which it will be difficult, if possible, to fill up again.

85. ADDRESS TO BENTINCK FOLLOWING THE ABOLITION OF SATI (1830 A.D.)

In 1830 the English Governor-General, William Bentinck, abolished by law the practice of *sati* (widow burning) within British territories. This address, believed to have been written by Raja Rammohun Roy, is an expression of appreciation for this action. Cited in Jogendra Chander Ghose, ed., *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 283-286.

My Lord,

With hearts filled with the deepest gratitude, and impressed with the utmost reverence, we, the undersigned native inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity, beg to be permitted to approach your Lordship, to offer personally our humble but warmest acknowledgements for the invaluable protection which your Lordship's government has recently afforded to the lives of the Hindoo female part of your subjects, and for your humane and successful exertions in rescuing us for ever, from the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as wilful murderers of females, and zealous promoters of the practice of suicide.

Excessive jealousy of their female connections, operating on the breasts of Hindu princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society, and of their incumbent duty as protectors of the weaker sex, insomuch that with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power, and under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands. The system of female destruction, being admirably suited to the selfish and servile disposition of the populace, has been eagerly followed by them, in defiance of the most sacred authorities, such as the Upanishads or the principal parts of the Vedas, and the Bhagavad Gita, as well as of the direct commandment of Manu, the first and the greatest of all the legislators, conveyed in the following words : 'Let a widow continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure.'

While in fact fulfilling the suggestions of their jealousy they pretented to justify this hideous practice by quoting some passage from authorities of evidently inferior weight, sanctioning the wilful ascent of a widow on the flaming pile of her husband, as if they were offering such female sacrifices in obedience to the dictates of the Sastras and not from the influence of jealousy. It is, however, very fortunate that the British government under whose protection the lives of both the males and females of India have been happily placed by providence, has, after diligent inquiry, ascertained that even those inferior authorities, permitting wilful ascent by a widow to the flaming pile, have been practically set aside, and that, in gross violation of their language and spirit, the relatives of widows have in the burning of those infatuated females, almost invariably used to fasten them down on the pile, and heap over them larger quantities of wood and other materials adequate to the prevention of their escape—an outrage on humanity which has been frequently perpetrated under the indirect sanction of native officers, undeservedly employed for the security of life and preservation of peace and tranquillity.

In many instances, in which the vigilance of the magistrate has deterred the native officers of police from indulging their own inclination, widows have either made their escape from the pile after being partially burnt, or retracted their resolution to burn when brought to the awful task, to the mortifying disappointment of the instigators ; while in some instances the resolution to die has been retraced, on pointing out to the widows the inpropriety of their intended undertaking, and on promising them safety and maintenance during life, not withstanding the severe reproaches liable thereby to be heaped on them by their relatives and friends.

In consideration of circumstances so disgraceful in themselves, and so incompatible with the principles of British rule, your Lordship in Council, fully impressed with the duties required of you by justice and humanity, has deemed it incumbent on you, for the honour of the British name, to come to the resolution, that the lives of your female Hindoo subjects should be henceforth more efficiently protected ; that the heinous sin of cruelty to females may no longer be committed, and that the most ancient and purest system of Hindoo religion should not any longer be set nought by the Hindoos themselves. The magistrates, in consequence, are, we understand, positively ordered to execute the resolution of government by all possible means . . .

86. THE ANTI-SUTTEE PETITION (c 1830 A.D.)

Advocates of *sati* (widow burning) appealed to the authorities in England against William Bentinck's abolition of the practice. The following petition was submitted in opposition to that appeal. It is generally believed to have been written by Raja Rammohun Roy. Cited in Jogendra Chunder Ghose, ed., *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 479-480.

That a practice has prevailed throughout India, particularly in Bengal, of burning those widows on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands, who could be induced to offer themselves as voluntary sacrifices.

That this barbarous and inhuman practice has been happily abolished by the Government of the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, who has thus conferred an inestimable benefit on the native population of India.

That the regulation prohibiting the practice has been received with gratitude by many, while the majority of the native population have remained passive and acquiescent, although nearly a twelve month has elapsed since the abolition took place.

That as a proof of your honourable House of the feeling entertained on the subject by a numerous portion of the native community, the subjoined address was presented to the Governor-General in Council expressive of their thanks for his benevolent interference.

(Here is cited the Address presented to Bentinck by the inhabitants of Calcutta in January, 1830.)

That your petitioners have, however, learned that a number of natives, professing to be attached to the ancient practice, have prepared a petition to your Honourable House soliciting the re-establishment of the rite of burning their widows ; and therefore to prevent your Honourable House from supposing that their sentiments are those of the whole native population, your petitioners respectfully present themselves to the notice of your Honourable House, and pray that the Regulation of the local government may be confirmed and enforced.

That your petitioners cannot permit themselves to suppose that such a practice, abhorent to all the feelings of nature, the obligations of society, and principles of good government, will receive the sanction of your Honourable House, much less that, having been abolished, the British name and character will be dishonoured by its re-establishment.

That your petitioners confidently rely on receiving from your Honourable House a full and final confirmation of the Act of the Governor-General in Council abolishing the rite of widow-burning.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

87. BISHOP WILSON'S CIRCULAR ON THE ABOLITION OF CASTE DISTINCTIONS IN THE CHURCH (1833 A.D.)

In this circular, sent to the missionaries working in the Diocese of Calcutta on 5th July, 1833, Bishop Wilson gives instructions concerning the abolition of caste distinctions among Indian Christians under their charge. The complete text is cited in H. Bower, *An Essay on Hindu Caste*, pp. 110-115.

. . . The unfavourable usages to which I refer, arise, as I understand, from the distinctions of castes. These castes are still retained ; customs in the public worship of Almighty God, and even in the approach to the altar of the Lord, are derived from them ; the refusal of acts of common humanity often follows,—processions at marriages and other rites of heathenism are at times preserved ; marks on the countenance are sometimes borne ; envy, hatred, pride, alienation of heart are too much engendered ; the discipline and subjection of the flock to its shepherd are frequently violated ; combinations to opposite the lawful and devout directions of the Missionaries are formed—in short, under the name of Christianity, half of the evils of paganism are retained.

These various instances of the effect of the one false principle, the retention of the caste, might be multiplied. They differ no doubt in different places ; in some stations they are slight and few, in others numerous and dangerous,—many native congregations are, as I trust, free from them together, many have nearly accomplished their removal. I speak, therefore, only generally as the reports have reached me. I throw no blame on individuals, whether ministers or people ; it is to the system that my present remarks apply, and it is in love I proceed to give my decision.

The distinction of castes then must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally ; and those who profess to belong to Christ, must give this proof of their having really put off concerning the former conversation the old, and having put on the new man in Christ Jesus. The Gospel recognises no distinctions, such as those of caste, imposed by a heathen usage, bearing in some respects a supposed religious obligation, condemning those in the lower ranks to perpetual abasement, placing an immoveable barrier against all general advance and improvement in society, cutting asunder the

bonds of humane fellowship on the one hand, and preventing those of Christian on the other—such distinctions, I say, the Gospel does not recognise ; on the contrary, it teaches us that God ' hath made of one blood all the nations' of men ; it teaches us that ' whilst the princes of the gentiles exercise authority upon them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them, it must not be so amongst the followers of Christ, but that whosoever will be great amongst them, is to be their servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for man ' . . .

In the practical execution, however, of the present award, dear Brethren, much wisdom and charity, united with firmness, will be requisite.

1. The catechumens preparing for baptism must be informed by you of the Bishop's decision, and must be gently and tenderly advised to submit to it. Of course the minister informs the bishop or archdeacon a week previously to the intended baptism of each convert, agreeably to the directions given by my honoured predecessor in his charge delivered at Madras in November, 1830, this will afford opportunity for each particular case being well considered.

2. The children of native Christians will, in the next place, not be admitted to the holy communion without this renunciation of caste,—their previous education being directed duly to this amongst other duties of the Christian religion, no material difficulties will as I trust arise here.

3. With respect to the adult Christ an already admitted to the holy communion, I should recommend that their prejudices and habits be so far consulted as not to insist on an open direct renunciation of caste. The execution of the award, in the case of all new converts and communicants, will speedly wear out the practice.

4. In the mean time it may suffice that overt acts, which spring from the distinction of castes, be at once and finally discontinued in the church — whether places in the church be concerned, or the manner of approach to the Lord's table, or procession in marriages, or marks on the forehead made with paint or other mixtures, or differences of food or dress — whatever be the overt acts, they must, in the church and so far as the influence of ministers goes, be at once abandoned . . .

88. RAJA SEEVAJEE ON SCHWARTZ (1834 A.D.)

This letter was a response to receipt of a copy of the *Memoirs* of Christian Frederic Schwartz. The young prince recalls the character of the Tanjore missionary. H. Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Christian Swartz.* Vol. II pp. 407-408.

I had the pleasure to receive, in due time, your letter of the 20th January, 1834, together with your valuable present of a Memoir, in two volumes, of the Reverend Father Swartz ; and most heartily thank you for the same.

Though indeed a faithful and detailed narrative of the life of that apostolic missionary must prove highly interesting to the public at large ; yet I beg to assure you, that you could not have selected a person who would have received such a present from you with a greater avidity than I have done. My perusal of this work has awakened many a most greatful recollection of incidents which my respected father was in the habit of reciting most enthusiastically, as indubitable instances of the disinterested affection that the venerable Mr. Swartz had entertained, and on several occasions manifested towards him, as well as of his pious and philanthropic exertions for the moral improvement of his fellow creatures, whether natives or Europeans. His virtues and qualifications either as a clergy man or a politician, exercised at a time when there existed very little encouragement, must ever remain objects of emulation to rising generations . . .

89. CONTROVERSY BETWEEN C.M.S MISSIONARIES AND SYRIAN CHRISTIAN LEADERS : BISHOP WILSON'S PROPOSALS (1835 A.D.)

Bishop Wilson made the following proposals to end the dispute between the C.M.S. Missionaries in Kerala and the Syrian Christian leaders. They were not acceptable to the Syrians. Cited in F. E. Keay, *A History of the Syrian Church in India*, pp. 81-82.

1. The Metran should as a general rule only ordain those who had passed through the college at Kottayam and had obtained certificates of proficiency in learning and of good conduct.

2. Accounts showing the produce of the land and other property belonging to the Church should be submitted annually to the Resident, so that none should be misappropriated, alienated or lost.

3. A permanent endowment should, if possible, be substituted for uncertain fees.

4. Schools should be established in connection with every parish church.

5. The clergy should expound the Gospel each Sunday to the people during the Divine Service.

6. Prayers should be in Malayalam instead of in Syriac.

90. BISHOP WILSON'S DESCRIPTION OF HOLY COMMUNION SERVICE WITHOUT CASTE DISTINCTION (1835 A.D.)

In his diary, under the date 27 January 1835, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta describes a service of Confirmation and Holy Communion in the Madras Presidency, in which distinctions of both caste and class (though he did not see the necessity for eliminating the latter distinction) were disregarded. Cited in Daniel Wilson, ed., *Bishop Wilson's Journal Letters*, pp. 52-53.

A fine rain of two hours has been falling ; but a more gracious rain has also, as I trust, been descending. Such a Confirmation and Sacrament at the Mission Church at nine this morning ! Forty-eight candidates. Two came forward at the time to renounce heathenism and Popish Christianity, and receive the Gospel. There were 149 communicants, the chief civil and military personages kneeling at the altar with Soodras and Pariahs without dist nction. The congregation consisted of upwards of 1000 persons, of whom at least 300 were heathen, crowding outside every door and window as far as the eye could see. Seventy were European gentry, the rest were native nominal Christians from twenty villages around. The service lasted nearly four hours. I pronounced the Confirmation prayer, the Sentences on delivering the elements, and the Benediction, in Tamil. I told the congregation that I aimed at no distinction of civil ranks ; that the Europeans would naturally approach the altar first ; that the respectable and educated natives, Soodras and Pariahs, would naturally come next ; that servants and persons of the humblest stations would follow ; but that there was to be no inseparable barrier, no heathen dread of defilement, only the natural gradations of society which prevailed in Christian churches at home. However, the English gentry voluntarily mixed themselves, on purpose to show the natives there were no inseparable divisions in Christanity, but all were one body. Positively, a Pariah kneeled between the Collector (the chief personage of the station) and his lady, at the lady's request. Out of five hundred, ten or twelve only left the church, and would not submit to my demands. Such is God's goodness !

91. MACAULAY'S MINUTE ON EDUCATION (1835 A.D.)

Thomas Babington Macaulay's Minute of 2nd February, 1835, led to the adoption, a month later (7th March, 1835), of a government policy that henceforth public funds would be spent only on English education. The consequences of this decision were far-ranging, affecting many areas of administrative policy. It also gave impetus to Christian educational programmes. G. M. Young, ed., *Thomas Babington Macaulay. Prose and Poetry*. Cited. in William Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 596-601.

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it ?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be ? One-half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommended the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing ?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the Oriental plan of Education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagi-

nation to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historic information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

How, then, stands the case ? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with work of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us ; with models of every species of eloquence ; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled ; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature ; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade ; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia, communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which should be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by the universal confession, there are no books on any subjects which deserve to be compared to our own ; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal

confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse ; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter . . .

All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh the undisputed fact that we cannot find, in all our vast empire, a single student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him . . . Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic ? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages, the knowledge which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

(Answering the claims of the Orientalists, he asserted) : But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are, on that account, entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astroncmy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably and decently bribe men out of the revenues of the state to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what text of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat ?

It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this ; but they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling book education.

They assume it as undeniable, that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindu and Arabian literature and science on one side and a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains, sufficiently to relish even the most delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing, discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindus. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindu as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit College, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and to imitate, not unhappily, compositions of the best Greek authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophoclis ought to enable a Hindu to read Hume and Milton.

To sum up what I have said, I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813 ; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied ; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose ; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing ; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic ; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic ; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement ; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly English scholars ; and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

In point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern ; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms and science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

92. C.M.S QUESTIONNAIRE RELATING TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL CRISIS IN KERALA (1835-1836 A.D.)

The following are the answers given to Question XLIX of the questionnaire sent to the C.M.S. missionaries in Kerala by J. Tucker secretary of the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee. It reveals the attitudes that led to the controversy between the missionaries and the leaders of the Syrian Christian Community. *Papers relating to Cottayam College* 1835-1840, I vol. United Theological College, Bangalore. Archives, No : CMS 38. Cited in T. V. Philip and K. Baago. 'A Document from the Ecclesiastical Crisis in Kerala, 1835-1836, '*Indian Church History Review*, vol. I, No. 2, (December 1962), pp. 113-132.

(Tucker asks the missionaries whether they consider a list of 'errors and abuses' of the Syrian Church to be correct. In most cases they answered 'yes'. Answers are only given here where the answer was not a simple 'yes').

Question XLIX. Adverting to the errors and abuses of the Syrian Church, do you consider the following arrangement correct and complete ?

I. Error contrary to scripture authorized and enjoined by the Church herself in her canons or formularies, and requiring a decree of the Church to remove them :

1. Transubstantiation.

2. The Sacrifice of the Mass 'in which it is said that the Priest offers Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or quiet'.

3. Worship of the Virgin Mary, and fasts in honour of her.

4. Worship of Saints.

5. Prayers for the dead.

6. Purgatory, or the possibility of a transition from an unpardoned to a pardoned state between the periods of death and judgement.

Answers.—Rev. Messrs. Norton, Peet, Woodcock : Yes.

Rev. S. Ridsdale : The Catanars deny Purgatory, but the words of the Liturgy prove the second part.

7. Prayers in an unknown tongue.

8. Attributing to the Clergy the power to curse and destroy men's bodies and souls.

Answers—Rev. Th. Norton : I wish for full information.
Rev. B. Bailey : I doubt.
Rev. J. Peet : I think it ought to be more fully enquired into.
Rev. W. J. Woodcock : I think it proved.
Rev. J. Tucker : I think it explicitly stated in the Liturgy, but shall be glad of more information.

9. Holding seven sacraments.

Answer — All : To be further investigated.

10. Prayers to the altar and chancel.

Answer — Rev. B. Bailey : I wish to enquire further.

11. Extreme unction.

Answer — Rev. W. J. Woodcock and S. Ridsdale : Not sure.

II. Ceremonies and other abuses authorised and enjoined by the Church, which are *not directly forbidden by the Word of God*, but which, as in their present use they ' have much blinded the people and obscured the Glory of God, are worthy to be cut away and clean rejected ', but require a Decree of the Church to remove.

1. The genuflexions, prostrations, crossing themselves and marking all the vessels, etc., with the sign of the cross, and all the other vain ceremonies attending the celebration of the Lord's supper, including the elevation of the Host, incense, ringing of the bells, the priest receiving the Mass alone, kissing the priest's sleeve, the kiss of peace, burning vax lights, etc.

2. Vain ceremonies at Baptism.

3. Vain ceremonies at Marriages.

4. Vain ceremonies at Burial, with burning of candles at the grave.

5. Confession in Lent, and absolution upon payment of one Chukrum. (*One Chuckrum is a little more than half of an Anna ; 28 Chuckrums make one Rupee.*)

III. Sinful and corrupt practices, and abuses *tolerated and allowed but not enjoined by the Church at present* and practiced by laity or clergy.

On the part of the Metran :

1. The ordination of the boys from 8 or 9 years old and upwards to inferior orders from which they cannot retract, and admission into the priesthood at 17 years age, contrary to Canons.

2. The ordination of a greater number than are required or can be supported.

3. The sin of Simony practiced by the Metran.

4. His taking no notice of the ungodliness of the Clergy.

5. His being suffered by the Clergy to live in open and notorious sin.

6. His paying public honours to a noted sorcerer.

Answer — All : Yes, on the authority of the Rev. J. Peet.

The Rev. B. Bailey knows that sorcery was practised at the same place.

On the part of the Clergy :

1. Some of them engaging in merchandise.

Answer — Rev. S. Ridsdale : Not sure.

2. The notorious vices of some of them.

3. The total neglect of public preaching, and even of public and stated reading of the scriptures.

4. The same — of educating and instructing the people ; making no efforts to catechise the children, or distribute the scriptures.

5. Either the opposing or manifesting a disinclination to all attempts at an efficient reformation.

6. Discouragement of the marriage of the Clergy, or general Celibacy.

Answers — Rev. Messrs. Norton, Ridsdale, Woodcock think it correct.

Rev. Messrs. Bailey, Peet, Tucker prefer calling it ' discouragement of the marriage of the Clergy '.

7. Irregularity in the time of performing Divine Service.

Answer — Rev. S. Ridsdale : not sure.

8. Processions.

9. Forbidding the Metran to marry.

10. Having pictures in the Churches representing God the Father, and refusing to remove them.

On the part of the people :

1. General ignorance and moral depravity.

2. Neglect of the Sabbath.

3. Heathenish practices at marriages.

4. Making use of heathenish enchantments etc., in sickness and danger.

Answer — Rev. S. Ridsdale : Philoxenes, the former Metran, had his nativity cast.

5. Early marriages.

Answer — All : Yes — at 9 ; 10 or 12 years of age.

6. Pilgrimages to St. Thome.

Answer — All : Rarely.

Rev. S. Ridsdale : I do not remember a case.

7. Certain customs before and after marriage.

(*Questions L to XL and the answers by the missionaries contain information about the people employed by the mission in Kottayam, the trusteeship of the College and of Munro Island. Questions LXI to LXXVI mostly deal with financial and educational matters and are not answered by the Missionaries, probably because these questions had been touched upon earlier in the document.*)

93. A MEMORIAL SUBMITTED TO COL. FRASER BY TWELVE PRIESTS OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH (1836 A.D.)

This memorial was a protest against the allegedly evil practices of the then Metropolitan of the Syrian Church, Mar Dionysius, submitted by twelve priests of the Syrian Church in Malabar. Cited in K. K. Kuruvilla, *A History of the Mar Thoma Church*, pp. 15-17.

1. Of the ten commandments given in Exodus 20, the Second Commandment, relating to the worship of images, is dropped out and, to make amends for this, the Tenth Commandment is split into two.

2. It is necessary and proper that the baptism of an infant should be made perfect through instruction and examination ; and,

in utter disregard of this principle, marriages and similar rites are being conducted before this is done.

3. There is neither the custom nor the rule of anointing a person a second time for the same blessing. In violation of this and in the name of ' First Unction ' *Mooron* (*Sythe*) is administered.

4. It is ordained that prayer should be offered on behalf of a sick person and that, when he is conscious, he should be advised to repent and that the Holy Communion should be administered to him. Instead of this, it is taught that the performance of the last unction even when a man is unconscious is a guarantee of salvation.

5. For forgiveness of sins and the grace of God, Holy Communion should be offered only to those who through confession have given evidence of repentance, but it is administered without giving adequate time for instruction and advice, in the anxiety to secure one *chakram* (about half an anna) per individual from those who come for Holy Communion.

6. The Holy Fathers have enjoined on all who come for confession that they should ask for forgiveness with fasting and prayer. Instead they are asked to offer coconut oil, incense and candles on such an occasion.

7. The Sunday services are held in a very irreverent and unspiritual way. Instead of reading and expounding Scripture as is ordained, clergymen seek for betel leaves and arecanuts from those who come daily to church and indulge in meaningless talks with them. They also take this as an occasion to ascertain whether there are festivals in connection with the departed. There are occasional demonstrations of bitter conflicts among them over the days appointed for such functions ; this occurs when there are more priests than one in a parish. After these irregularities, they say a mass which has no life and which does not provoke people to a holy life.

8. Besides the practice of going round the church and then crawling into it to offer gifts, the worshippers seek salvation through migration from one church to another on festival days.

9. All ministers are expected to follow the advice of St. Paul to Timothy that he should preach the word in season and out of season ; but these instead of fulfilling their great responsibility frequent law courts, conspire with revenue officers for illicit gains, engage in trade and come to church to hold services only when there is any hope of financial gain out of it.

10. The Old and New Testaments as well as the canons instruct Christians to spend Sunday in prayer and the reading of the Word. Instead of encouraging this habit, on promise of settlement of disputes on Sundays before the bishops or the elders, they encourage such people to come to church for this purpose. Others spend the time in attending to their ordinary work.

11. The canon has enjoined the bishops that they should ordain only candidates who have been examined by them and the malpans (Syriac professors) and who have gained the good report of the people. But this being entirely overlooked, young men are called to the ministry with the recommendation of interested people.

12. The Holy Fathers have decreed that a deacon should be called to the priesthood only after he reaches the age of thirty, but, no heed being paid to this, deacons are called to be priests even at the age of sixteen.

13. It is but proper that on Saints' Days we should be instructed to follow them. Instead of this, people are advised to celebrate these days with the hoisting of flags and theatrical performances as heathens do.

14. Heretics who like the Nestorians deny the Catholic faith regarding the person of Christ and the Trinity are included in the list of saints, in disregard of the synodical and canonical injunctions.

15. The Syrian Canon, Chapter 7, places on bishops the responsibility of appointing malpans for the education of the young for the priesthood, and, if the Church has not resources enough to maintain the school and pay the malpans, contributions may be called for from the faithful. It is regrettable that the money available is not used for this purpose, but is appropriated by the priests and lay administrators of the church for their selfish ends, and if any thing is left it is used to make small images for the adoration of the laity.

16. The holy books and the canon teach that image-makers, astrologers and those who produce inscribed tablets to ward off evil should be ex-communicated from the Church, but the priests encourage these, and worse than these, both in church and outside.

17. Lent should be utilised both as an expression of repentence and as a means for self-control. It is not used properly, and in addition an unauthorised season of lent for eight days is now in vogue. During this period, people are allowed to congregate in certain churches, and they keep Lent by saying formal prayers in the Roman fashion, by preparing their food, and by indulging in trivial pleasure.

18. It is not our custom to organise torch-light processions on Christmas Day.

19. Charcoal is taken on the closing day of Lent and at Christmas-time for making cross-marks on the forehead and for taking a bath the same evening in water mixed with the remaining portion of charcoal. This is not our custom and is not mentioned in our canon.

20. It is also against our custom to smear charcoal on the forehead as the Roman Catholics do on Ash Wednesday.

21. In recognition of the Lord's Supper instituted by our Lord on the evening of Maundy Thursday a special kind of bread is prepared, which the head of the family cuts in pieces and distributes. Another kind of bread is made on the same day and is plied with needles as a sign of blinding the Jew for his act of bringing about the crucification of Christ. This again is against canon.

22. The practice of praying for the dead and of doing obeisance at their graves with lighted candles is common in all the churches and is abhorrent to us.

23. Though the remains of the Saints are holy, it is against the canon to keep them in the sanctuary. In contravention of this, the dead are buried in the sanctuary, lamps are lighted over their tombs and images are erected on them. The people are encouraged to worship these as if the worshippers would receive benefits out of it.

94. NOTICE CONCERNING ESTABLISHMENT OF A MISSION TO THE SHANS IN NORTH-EASTERN ASSAM (1836 A.D.)

The American Baptists were the first to establish permanent missionary work in North-East India. The following notice of the establishment of that mission is interesting for several reasons. It reveals not only the vast ambitions of the missionaries of that period, but also the considerable involvement of British officials in missionary work. Charles Trevelyan, Civil Servant and liberal reformer, and Francis Jenkins, the evangelical Governor-General's Agent and Commissioner in Assam, played an active role in the establishment and, in the latter case, the continuing development of the Baptist Mission in Assam. The notice was published in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. XVI (1936), pp. 19-22.

Mission to the Shans

We have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that the Board (of Managers of the General Convention of the Baptist

Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions, and other important objects relating to the Redeemer's kingdom) are on the point of realizing their long cherished hopes of introducing the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among this numerous and benighted people. Rev. Mr. Brown, recently of the Mission at Maulmein, has already been set apart to the work . . . It is expected, also, that one of the printers at Maulmein, with a printing press, will accompany him.

The station, at which it is proposed to commence operations, is *Sudiya*, situated in the north-eastern extremity of Assam, about 400 miles north of Ava (the Burmese capital), and ' at the northern-most point of territory inhabited by the great Shan family.' The attention of the Board has been specially directed to this point, in consequence of a letter addressed to Mr. Trevelyan, of the Civil Service, Calcutta, by Captain F. Jenkins, Governor-General's Agent and Commissioner in Assam, resident at Gowahatti. The letter was written in reply to one from Mr. Trevelyan, in which he had enclosed a communication from the Corresponding Secretary of the Board to Rev. Wm. H. Pearce, of the English Baptist Mission, Calcutta,—and is dated Gowahatti, 10th March, 1833.

' The ground I would particularly wish to bring to their notice (Capt. J. says in this letter,) is the north-eastern district of Assam, occupied by two tribes of the great Shan family, the Khamtis and the Sing-phos. The dialects of these tribes differ very little from the Siamese and Burmese, and the characters in use are essentially the same ; and, in consequence of the supremacy of the Burmese being established over the original provinces whence our Shans came, with the inhabitants of which they are in constant communication, the Burmese language is in a measure known to all these tribes.'

Capt. Jenkins proceeds to remark that the labours of our Missionaries in Burmah ' would be, with very little difficulty made available for the district round Sudiya, and here they (the missionaries from Burmah) would labour under the protection of our government, and not be liable to those checks which the Rangoon Mission has constantly suffered from the jealousy and barbarity of the Ava government. The Shans, too, with whom the Mission at Sudiya would be brought in contact, are a much finer and more intelligent people than the Burmese, and ten times as numerous. Their kindred races extend throughout the country whence arise all the mighty rivers from the Burhampooter to Kianguan (the river of Nankin) . . . Here is an ample field. It is indeed boundless ; for it extends over all the north and west of China, (for such is the extent of communication that we command from Sudiya,) and it embraces some of the most fertile and most temperate countries on the face of the earth.'

A copy of the letter from which we have made the above extracts, was forwarded to the Board, with other documents, by Mr. Pearce, under the date ' Calcutta, April 21,' and was received prior to the departure of Mr. Malcom, in September. A duplicate of the same was transmitted to the Mission at Maulmein. Within a few days, letters have arrived from Maulmein, giving intelligence of the reception of Mr. P's communication, and of the measures immediately consequent thereon. The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Brown, dated Maulmein, June 9. We present this at this time on account of the interesting view it gives of the relation which the mission at Sudiya will bear upon other operations of the Board in South-Eastern Asia. Referring to the eventual establishment of a 'connected line of operations from Sudiya, so as to meet the labours of Mr. Jones and the other Siam missionaries, at the other extremity of the region occupied by the Shans, ' Mr. B. says, ' You will easily see, by inspecting the map, that br. Jones can ascend the Siam river about two thirds of the distance to Sudiya. A large portion of the remaining distance is traversed by the northern branches of the Salwen and Erawadi. This chain being completed, the whole western border of China will be open to us. There is little doubt,' Mr. B. adds, ' that at the present time, Sudiya is the most feasible entrance, from the interior, to the empire of China. It is, in fact, precisely such a point of approach as the Board contemplated in their late resolutions. It is situated near the head waters of the Kiangku or Nankin river, which runs directly through the centre of China . . . Mr. B. also speaks of a line of communication that may be formed with the Mission at Ava, ' through the Katheh or Cassay country, the capital of which is Manipur, nearly in a line between Sudiya and Ava, and about 200 miles distant from each. Manipur district is said to be a very populous and fine country, and is independent of the Burmese government.'

It will be gratifying to our Christian friends to know that the designation of Mr. B. to Sudiya has met his hearty concurrence . . . For the sake of presenting to our readers a further view of the importance of Sudiya as a missionary field, especially in the facilities it affords for extending the knowledge of Christ throughout adjacent provinces, and for the enlargement and success of the Missions already organized to evangelize Burmah, Siam and China, we subjoin a few remarks from Messrs. Trevelyan and Pearce, accompanying the above communication from Gowahatti. Mr. T. says :—

' From this point (Sudiya) an impression may be made upon Burmah, from an exactly opposite quarter from that at which it has been heretofore entered by the missionary. The communication is open with Yunnan, the westernmost province of China, and

it is the intention of the Indian government to send a mission there by this route, next cold season for the purpose of inquiring about the culture of the tea plant. On the other side, Bhutan, and Thibet, and more countries and people than we have any accurate knowledge of at present, are open to the messengers of the Gospel ; and, lastly, the Shan language, which is near akin to the Burmese and Siamese, and belongs to the Chinese family, furnishes a ready means of intercourse with perhaps a greater number of people than any other language in the world, except Chinese itself.' . . .

We would here take occasion to acknowledge the truly Christian kindness with which, from the first, Messrs. Pearce and Trevelyan have interested themselves in the establishment of the proposed Mission, and their prompt and zealous co-operation in furthering the designs of the Board . . . It is also a matter of grateful acknowledgement that God has raised up, for the furtherance of His gracious designs in the commencement of a Mission to the Shans, so valuable an auxiliary in the gentleman first addressed by Mr. Trevelyan. Captain Jenkins is represented to be a ' man of activity, intelligence and benevolent feeling, whose character and exertions stand very high in the estimation of the Government,' and who will probably retain the situation he now holds so long as he stays in that country. The part he has already taken in favour of the location of the Mission at Sudiya, evinces the keen interest he feels in the object, and assures us that no exertions of his will be wanting to secure its successful prosecution. We venture to give the following additional extract from his letter to Mr. Trevelyan, as indicative of his views in regard to the importance of the measure. ' No attention of mine should of course be wanting to make the place comfortable to any missionaries, and I will be willing to contribute my mite to their establishment. You may mention, that I will subscribe 1,000 rupees, if a family is settled as a Mission at Sudiya, and whenever they have had a press at work for six months I will be happy to double that sum, if I remain in charge of the Province.'

In view of the facts which we have now presented, who will not heartily respond to the flowing language of Mr. Judson : ' My heart leaps for joy and swells with gratitude and praise to God, when I think of br. Jones at Bankok, in the southern extremity of the continent, and br. Brown at Sudiya in Assam, on the frontiers of China—immensely distant points,—and of all the intervening stations, Ava Rangoon, Kyouk-Phyoo, Maulmein and Tvoy, and the churches and schools which are springing up in every station and throughout the Karen wilderness. Happy lot, to live in these days ! O happy lot, to be allowed to bear a part in the glorious work of bringing an apostate world to the feet of Jesus ! Glory, glory be to God ! '

95. PADROADO PROPAGANDA CONTROVERSY : THE MULTA PRAECLARE (1838 A. D.)

On 24th April 1838 Pope Gregory XVI published a brief, *Multa praeclare*, in which he sought to settle the serious jurisdictional conflicts between representatives of the Portuguese padroado and the Propaganda in India. It supported the Propaganda in removing the diocesan areas of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. Henceforth those areas would be under the jurisidition of Vicars-Apostolic directly subject to Rome. This is to replace all past bulls regarding jurisdiction in India. Cited in Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, Vol. I, pp. 239-244.

The Apostolic Letter of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI Concerning the institution of Vicars-Apostolic in the East Indies.

Gregory XVI Pope

For Perpetual Memory Hereof

The Roman Pontiffs, Our Predecessors, in accordance with the obligations of the Pastoral Office, have determined many things very expressly that, in the most extensive regions of the East Indies, they might provide for the increase of the Catholic Religion. For whereas, on account of the very great distance of those countries from the Apostolic See, and on account of the length of journeys and the difficulties of places, the cultivation of that extensive portion of the vineyard of the Lord must be very arduous, the Roman Pontiffs have earnestly demonstrated their solicitude to sanction by their authority, and order to be accurately observed, whatever, according to the different changes of the times, might seem likely to be useful to religion among those nations.

We omit to make mention of the care, never neglected by the Apostolic See, that priests should be encouraged everywhere to perform the duties of the sacred ministry in those places. We say nothing of the singular favour and benignity exhibited by Our Predecessors, that, in order not to retard the progress of the Catholic religion in those places, they made almost innumerable concessions, by which they suffered those nations to be treated more gently than the institutes of the canons and a more severe discipline required. We will only mention herein that indication of gratitude which in accordance with their dignity, the Roman Pontiffs showed to those who, it appeared, were useful to religion throughout those places.

The privilege of patronage, granted by the Apostolic See to the Most Faithful Kings of Portugal, that the Bishops of some dioceses in those regions might be elected upon their nomination, contains an evident proof of this matter. For, whereas the piety and munificence of those Princes had contributed much to the founding of certain bishoprics in those most extensive regions, our Predecessors, desiring to reward their merits by a testimony of their gratitude, have granted that the Apostolic See would choose, as Bishops of those Dioceses, the persons whom, being worthy, they had nominated. Moreover, by the concession of this privilege the Apostolic See expected that the vacancy of those Episcopal Sees would not be of long duration ; that those places would secure suitable Bishops more easily, and that due assistance would be at hand for the Bishops themselves, such as would accord with their dignity. But it has come to pass from the vicissitudes of the times that this, which was for a long time a benefit to religion in those countries, could not remain in that state which the decrees of Our Predecessors, published under circumstances entirely different, and commanded to be observed.

Often times, whilst as yet we presided over the Council for propagating the Christian Name, We felt it to be Our duty to weigh the importance of the reasons which demonstrated that those countries, so widely extending, which constitute a very great part of the vast peninsula on this side of the Ganges, necessarily require that the Apostolic See should succour religion in danger therein, and should modify the form of ecclesiastical government in such manner as would be consistent with the safety of religion. It was known to us that those regions are comprehended within the limits of the Dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore or St. Thomé. It was also manifest to Us that our predecessors had granted to the most Faithful Kings of Portugal, patronage with respect to those Dioceses, and the privilege of nominating the Bishops. For this is contained in the Apostolic Letter of Paul IV of happy memory, of the 4th day of February in the year 1557, which begins *Pro excellenti*, by which he founded the Diocese of Cochin ; likewise in that of Clement VIII, of the 4th of August 1600, beginning *In supremo*, and of Paul V, of the 6th day of February 1616, beginning *Alias postquam*, concerning the erection of the Archbishopric of Cranganore ; and finally, in the Apostolic Decree of Paul V, of the 9th day of January 1606, by which the Bishopric of Mylapore or St. Thomé was established. We have never omitted, from that time, to make every endeavour for promoting the welfare of religion which the circumstances of the times allowed.

But since that we, though unworthy, have been raised to the chair of Peter, we have been incited much more frequently, and by records of the utmost importance, to aid religion labouring under

very great difficulty in those nations. Weighing those things deliberately, and bearing in mind the obligations of Apostolic solicitude, we have therefore been induced to constitute, by Apostolic Letters of the 18th day of April 1834, beginning *Latissimi terrarum tractus*, a Vicar-Apostolic depending from the Apostolic See alone, who would have subject to him the populous city of Calcutta and its political prefecture. Whereas, however, some persons were found to resist the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic instituted by Us, and to contend that obedience ought not to be paid to our Apostolic Letters, because in them We had not, by an express mention, derogated from those things which Paul V, on the 9th day of January 1606, had decreed concerning the boundaries of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mylapore or St. Thomé ; We, by another Apostolic Brief, on the 4th day of August 1835, the beginning of which is *Commissi Nobis*, have rejected all this pretext of dissention, and have declared many things which would tend to establish more firmly the authority of the Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal. For the same reason it was that We determined that another Vicar-Apostolic should be instituted at Madras, by a letter on the 25th day of the April 1834, beginning *Ex. debito pastoralis*. This was also the reason why We published on the 23rd day of December 1836, another Apostolic Brief beginning *Ex munere pastoralis*, by which We committed the most extensive Island of Ceylon to be governed by a Vicar-Apostolic instituted by Us. For this reason finally it was that, desiring to provide for the necessities of religion among those people who inhabit that part of the peninsula which lies towards the East of the Ghaut Mountains, and extends from the River Cauvery into Cape Comorin, We have committed the entire tract of country which comprehends the kingdoms of Madura, Tanjore, Morava, and Mysore, through our Congregation de Propaganda Fide, on the 3rd day of June 1837, to the care and jurisdiction of our venerable Brother Clement, Bishop of Drusipare, Vicar-Apostolic of the Coromandel Coast,—in a provisional way, and until it may be otherwise decreed by the Holy See.

We understand that by these things, which have been hitherto decreed by Us concerning this country of the Indies, the advantage of religion in a very large part of India has been provided for. But, besides those places which have been given to be governed by Vicars-Apostolic, several countries yet remain, for the spiritual good of which We are bound to provide, and which are situated within the boundaries of the Dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore or St. Thomé. We know that ecclesiastical discipline, the morals of the people, the Catholic faith in those countries, which so long lack a Pastor, have suffered great injury ; and we are well aware that many use the pretext of defending and preserving the rights of those dioceses in order to resist the Vicars-Apostolic whom the Apostolic See has constituted, to oppose their authority, and

endeavour to excite a pernicious schism. We sensibly feel that We, by reason of the office which God has committed to Us in succession to St. Peter, are wholly obliged to have a care of the Church, even in every scattered portion of the world, and to decree all things whatsoever that we see would contribute to the support of religion everywhere.

Therefore, having taken advice on so important an affair with our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church placed over the affairs of Propaganda Fide, the opinion of the same being approved of, and a mature consideration of the entire business having been instituted by Us, in the plenitude of Apostolic power We judge it fit to decree as follows :—

Videlicet, in a provisional way, and as long as the Apostolic See shall come to no other new determination, We decree that all those countries which are contained within the limits of the Diocese of Mylapore or St. Thomé, and which have been up to this time committed to no Vicar-Apostolic, are to be united to the Apostolic Vicariate of Madras ; and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, over those countries belong to our Venerable Brother Daniel, Bishop of Salditan and Vicar-Apostolic of Madras and to his successors. But with respect to the countries which are contained within the limits of the Dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin, and which up to this time have been delivered to no Vicar-Apostolic ; in the same way We order that they be united to the Apostolic Vicariate instituted in the country of Malabar, the seat of which is in the town of Verapoly ; and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, over those countries shall belong to Our Venerable Brother Francis Xavier, Bishop of Amata, the Vicar-Apostolic residing at Verapoly, and to his successors. And that the country of Malacca beyond the Ganges may also receive the benefit of our Apostolic solicitude, and that We may provide for the safety and increase of religion therein, We in the same provisional way subject that entire country to the jurisdiction of our Venerable Brother Frederic Cao, Bishop of Zama and Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Pegu.

We declare that in the ecclesiastical and spiritual government of those countries the Vicars-Apostolic above named depend immediately from Us, and from the Apostolic See alone ; that they alone are to be regarded by all as the true Ordinaries of those countries ; and that all should obey them, and receive ecclesiastical jurisdiction and faculties from them. Therefore We derogate from the Apostolic letters above recited of Our Predecessors concerning the erection and limits of the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore or St. Thomé, and likewise from that published by Paul IV, on the 4th day of February 1557, beginning *Pro excellenti*, concerning the

erection of the Bishopric of Malacca ; and moreover, We derogate also from the Apostolic letter of Our Predecessor Paul IV, of happy memory, of the 4th day of February 1557, beginning *Etsi sancta*, concerning the erection of the Archbishopric of Goa—so that the Archbishop of Goa cannot in future exercise any jurisdiction, under any title whatsoever, even worthy of special mention, in the countries of which we speak.

These things being thus determined, We consider that We have fully provided for the proper government of religion throughout those places ; and we confidently hope that it will come to pass that, God Almighty blessing the design commenced by Us, these things may greatly tend to the increase of the Church. For We feel confident that all will pay to our decrees that obedience which is due to our dignity, to whom through Peter the power of feeding, directing, and governing the universal Church has been delivered by God. Finally, We doubt not that those who hitherto have resisted Our will, will be susceptible of more wholesome counsel, and become sincerely averse to the most grievous evil of schism.

For besides that duty peculiar to every Catholic, by which he is bound to obey Peter speaking through Us, We are persuaded that they will now have realised, that those reasons which they have alleged in defence of their dissension can by no means excuse their opposition.

For it is well known to all that the Apostolic See, in conceding that patronage to the Most Faithful Kings of Portugal, never intended to place an impediment to its providing for religion in those countries, nor to its having the power to decree those things which, in consideration of the necessity of the times, the salvation of the Christian people might afterwards demand.

We think that they will also see how greatly different, and distinct from the present state of things, the times were in which that privilege was granted and observed. We suppose that they are also aware that those countries, to provide for the good of which We have turned our attention, are no longer subject to the old political Government, under which it was easy for the Kings of Portugal to exercise their patronage ; but that they have come under the sway of a most powerful Sovereign, whose form of government and institutions, We are well aware, will not allow it.

Finally, We remember that the Roman Pontiffs Our Predecessors, notwithstanding the concession of the patronage, have rightly decreed that from the Dioceses comprehended under that privilege provinces should sometimes be separated, and Apostolic Vicariates, embracing those provinces, constituted for the benefit of religion.

Wherefore We trust that those who have not hesitated to oppose Us hitherto will easily perceive that they should take care lest, by refusing obedience to Our Decrees made in the present state of things, they openly show that they can produce no reason for their dissension, except that of a disobedient spirit.

Declaring the present letters to be, and that they shall continue to be firm, valid and efficacious, and that they are to have their full and complete effect, and to retain the same, and are to avail to their widest extent for those in whose concern they have been issued, or whom they shall at any future time affect, notwithstanding any enactments to the contrary.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 24th day of April 1838, the eighth year of Our Pontificate.

E. Card. de Gregorio.

96. PADROADIST REACTION TO THE PAPAL BRIEF MULTA PRAECLARE (1838 A.D.)

The representatives of the Padroado (those under the patronage of the Portuguese King) in India refused to recognise the validity of the brief of Pope Gregory XVI, *Multa praeclare*, and hence intensified the conflict between the Padroadists and Propagandists that so weakened the Roman Catholic Church in India during the ninteenth century. The Padroadist position was put forward in a Pastoral by the Archbishop-elect of Goa, F. Antonio Feliciano de Santa Rita Carvalho, dated 8th October 1838. An English summation of the original Portuguese is found in Ernest R. Hull, *The Bombay-Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, Vol. I, pp. 245-249.

I. A rumour has been spread abroad on all sides by the Propagandists about the recent arrival of an apostolic brief issued by Pope Gregory XVI, abolishing the patronage of the crown of Portugal in the dioceses of Malacca, Mylapore, Cochin and Cranganore, handing them over to certain Vicars-Apostolic, and annulling in them the metropolitan jurisdiction of Goa. They (the Propagandists) have also given out that within a short time another apostolic brief will be issued, separating from the metropolitan of Goa, and giving over to the Vicar or the Great Mogul, the churches situated in British territories north of Goa—on the ground that the Queen of Portugal has lost her right of patronage in these dominions for not maintaining the missionaries sent to these parts.

II. It is quite conceivable that the propagators of this rumour are capable of forging such a document, or of extorting it from the Sovereign Pontiff by trickery and falsehood, in order to gratify their ambition, self-love and avarice.

III. When a copy of this apostolic brief came into our hands through the Bishop of Mylapore, we could see at once from certain manifest signs that it deserved to be rejected from the very outset, either as apocryphal, or else as having been obtained surreptitiously. And this for the following reasons :

IV. First, it is contrary to the ordinary usage of the Holy See to treat of a matter of such importance in a mere brief and not in a bull.

V. But passing this over, it is strange that we should depend on a stray copy coming in our way, and that it should not reach us in the official manner, accompanied by an apostolic letter to the metropolitans or ordinaries, and fortified by the royal consent, which is part of the prescriptive right of the crown.

VII. The absence of this royal consent, certifying that the brief contains nothing contrary to the rights of the queen, is in itself a sufficient reason why it should be rejected at once.

VIII. Besides these external arguments there are also several internal signs that it is surreptitious.

First, the document calls the patronage ' a privilege.' This is manifestly false, since it is not a privilege but a right (*jus patronatus*) resting on the titles of foundation and endowment, and one which cannot be abrogated without the express consent of the king.

XI. Secondly it is false to say that this ' privilege ' had for its object that the sees should not remain vacant for long.

XII. The title by which the right of patronage was obtained are, first, the fact of foundation and endowment, as appears in the bulls by which those sees were established ; and secondly, prescription or pacific possession for over 300 years. It is a true ownership legitimately obtained, legitimately maintained, and possessed in good faith ; nor can it be lost by reason of the sees being left vacant.

XIII. It is a real ownership based on the natural law, and one which therefore cannot be abolished without the consent of the owner.

XIV. Hence we wonder at the culpable ignorance shown by the writer of the brief, not only of the principles of canon law, but even of the natural law also.

XV. If the rights of the queen are guaranteed by the natural law, it follows that even the existing Pope cannot abrogate them without diametrically opposing the will of Christ who came not to destroy but to fulfil and who said : ' Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.'

XVI. It is impossible, therefore, that the Pope should attempt to violate the rights of the queen—rights obtained by legitimate titles and preserved and maintained by immemorial possession—a possession purchased by the shedding of rivers of blood and the expenditure of copious treasure for the spread of the Gospel. It is unthinkable that the Pope should do this ; and since he cannot be the author of the pretended brief, it must have been fabricated by sacrilegious men.

XIX. But these are not the only arguments. Besides this, the pretended brief fails to satisfy the 42nd rule of the Chancellary, which for the validity of a bull of abrogation requires these four conditions :—first, it must specify the time, etc., of the vacancy ; secondly, it must show that the time for presentation has expired ; thirdly, it must have the consent of the crown ; and fourthly, it must specify the previous bulls which are abrogated.

XX. The brief makes no specification of the times, etc., of the vacancies, and hence it fails in the first condition.

XXI. The time for presentation to these benefices is not specified or limited, and does not expire. Hence it fails in the second condition.

XXII. Nor does it allege the consent of the crown—no such consent having been given. Hence it fails in the third condition.

XXIII. There is no mention of the bulls which it is intended to abrogate, and hence if fails in the fourth condition.

(Here follows a list of 19 bulls ranging from 1442 to recent times, express mention of which ought to have been made in the derogation).

XVI. Another collection of falsities in the brief is, first, the alleged relaxation in faith, morals and discipline in the dioceses of the patronage through lack of proper pastors; secondly, the alleged unjust resistance shown to the Vicars-Apostolic by the Padroado bishops; and thirdly, the alleged change of circumstances due to these countries having passed under the dominion of a most powerful king, whose form of government is declared to be incompatible with the maintenance of the Padroado. All these three points are false.

First, as regards the relaxation of faith, morals and discipline, everybody knows how lax the Apostolic missionaries (Propagandists) are, for instance with regard to dispensations for marriages, etc.; and moreover, how they have no scruple in spreading calumnies against us, calling us schismatics and our jurisdiction null; nor have they any scruples in usurping churches and the jurisdiction of others—all with the object of promoting their sinister ends.

XXVII. Even if there be relaxation in the places named in the supposed brief, this is certainly not for want of pastors, but on account of the blunders and relaxed morals of the Apostolics already mentioned. For when our clergy show themselves strict maintainers of discipline, their subjects threaten at once to run off to the Propagandists, where they will easily obtain easier treatment, etc. In general, the charge of lack of proper pastors is false.

XXIX. Secondly, as regards the opposition show to the Vicars-Apostolic by the Padroado bishops: This, being in defence of their proper rights against aggression, ought not to be blamed but praised. In fact they would deserve to be punished as unfaithful ministers if they did not make such opposition in defence of their rights, and against the invasion of foreign prelates.

(Here follows a long passage from the instructions given by King Jose I. in 1774).

XXXIX. As regards the third point, *viz.*, the change of circumstances. Even supposing the change referred to, this should not be made a ground for abolishing the right of patronage; which, being founded on the natural law, cannot be abrogated even by the Pope himself. But as to the argument that the British Government is of such a nature as not to allow the Padroado to be exercised, we reply that we have actually been exercising this right in British territory hitherto, and there is no reason why we should not continue to do so. Besides this, it would be a grievous injury to Great Britain to suppose that she should fail in fidelity to the treaties sworn between herself and Portugal, by which she is bound not to interfere with ecclesiastical jurisdiction—besides her principle of extending toleration to all religions alike.

XL. With this we may conclude, having shown that the brief is apocryphal, and that it ought therefore to be rejected from the outset . . .

XLI. And when the Apostolics of the Great Mogul appear with their other expected brief, by virtue of which they intend to claim certain churches under our jurisdiction north of Goa, we shall in like manner examine into the motives on which it is founded, and see whether it is fortified by the royal consent or not, and shall admit it or reject it accordingly. They allege that the queen has lost her right over these churches through failing to give proper support to the pastors. This allegation is quite false.

XLII. It is well known that suitable subsidies were paid out of the royal treasury without interruption down to the year 1835, when the Prefect ordered them to be suspended till a new and perhaps more regular organisation should be given to the missions which had previously belonged to the religious orders now extinct. Secondly, it is well known that these subsidies were, with some modification, reestablished in June of the present year 1838. Thirdly, it is well known that under the administration of Goa there were treasuries named after the different missions, *e.g.*, the North, the South, and Canara, from which funds were derived to meet local needs; and we ourselves have often made donations to these churches, as can be proved from our account-books:

XLIII. Therefore the assertion is false, maliciously made and spread about by the Apostolics in Bombay. But even if the accusation were true, this would not be a sufficient reason for arguing that the right of patronage had been lost. It is well known in canon law that failure of contribution on the part of a secular patron is not sufficient cause even to suspend, still less to abolish such a right.

XLV. Hence it is manifest how ill-founded are the views of the Propagandists in Bombay. Should they come forward with some brief passed by the Congregation of Propaganda favouring their unjust pretensions, we have declared already that we cannot admit any such rescript unless it is fortified by the royal consent. Moreover, we shall make known to the Pope through competent channels that his Vicars in this part of the world have deceived him with their arbitrary and false informations ; and that such briefs are *obreptitious* and *subreptitious*, and therefore he himself ought to approve of their rejection.

*XLV. We have often made our profession of faith and obedience to the Holy See ; but this is not incompatible with another oath which we have also taken, of equal force and solemnity, to maintain fidelity and obedience to our sovereign, and to maintain untouched the prerogatives of the royal patronage and of our metropolitan see. And as the supposed brief attacks these royal rights, and offends against the ordinary rights of our suffragans as well as our own, we feel bound to protest against and legally to resist the execution of this or any similar brief—which bears clear signs, external and internal, of being supposititious and false. Moreover by a similar right we protest against its acceptance by the court of the British Government ; from whom we respectfully ask the necessary support for the maintenance of our sacred rights, in the name of reason and justice, and on account of the solemn treaties signed between the crowns of Portugal and England.

XLVII. We order all our subjects not to admit or to give effect to the brief referred to, unless it is fortified by the royal consent of the queen—to whom we have

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* In E. R. Hull's book the numbers are the same.

communicated an account of this new usurpation designed by the Propagandists, in order that she may make due protests to Rome, and ask the sovereign pontiff for a suitable declaration about the matter.

XLVII. This document is to be read and explained by the Vicars to their parishioners on the Sundays and holidays of obligation following its receipt, and to be filed in the archives.

XLVIX. The suffragan bishops of Mylapore, Cranganore, Cochin, etc. are also recommended to order the same to be read and filed.

Given at our palace, at Panjim, October 8th, 1838

A. F. de Santa Rita Carvalho, etc.

97. PETITION OF BRITISH MISSIONARIES TO THE KING OF TRAVANCORE ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY (1847 A.D.)

British missionaires working in Travancore took the occasion of succession to the throne of a new Raja to submit a petition asking for the abolition of slavery in his realm. It is an interesting example of the social efforts of the missionaries of this period, and of the extensive documentation used in support of such efforts. Cited in K.K. Kusuman, *Slavery in Travancore*, Appendix II, pp. 78-80.

We the undersigned Missionaries from Great Britain, engaged in promoting the welfare of Your Highness on the occasion of the death of H.H. the late Raja and to offer our congratulation on your succeeding the Government of this fine country and to express our hope that Your Highness' Government will become illustrious by reason of the numerous benefits conferred upon the people.

Your Highness' extensive intercourse with the people around and consequent familiarity with their condition, beyond that usually falls under the observation of the eminent situation induces the hope that that acquaintance has given rise to wise and kind thought for the poor and oppressed among your subjects.

While we duly appreciate the benevolent efforts of H.H. the late Raja for the improvement of the condition of the people, there is one large and interesting class *viz.*, the slave population invaluable for its services in the cultivation of the country and chief producers of its food, who appear to have been left to give Your Highness the opportunity of conferring a benefit wider in its operation and more beneficial in its character than any which has yet been conferred

on Travancore. For the emancipation of this class, we though foreigners, beg to plead sanguine that Your Highness will rejoice at the opportunity of commencing your Government with so great an act of humanity and kindness. By the census of 1836 the population of Travancore was 1,280,668. Of these were

Parayar	38,625	entered as 'soil slaves'
Pulayar	90,598	
Coraivar	31,891	
Pallar	3,750	

In all 164,864 slaves, not to mention 16,226 malay vaylar and other hill tribes, many of them in a state of vassalage.

With the condition of the slaves we have had many opportunities of becoming acquainted and have been distressed to find, in reference to these people, employed in the most laborious and unhealthy services, that even when hardest wrought their food is barely adequate to their sustenance—their clothing miserably scanty, their dwellings affording but little shelter from the moisture and cold surrounding them ; and that generally no provision is made for their support when their labour is not required or disease or age render them unable to labour—that no medical aid is provided for them when ill—that they can be and are bought and sold as cattle and that in the heartless traffic the husband and wife, the parent and child can be rudely separated and sold in different directions—that they are often subjected to very cruel treatment from their masters, and that owing to their degradation, they are in a great measure deprived of the benefits of the new courts and entirely cut off from all access to their prince.

Of the above number we have no means of knowing how many are Sirkar slaves. Were not the degradation of all too complete, we should have solicited that a beginning might be made in the emancipation of those ; but remembering their extreme misery, and knowing that the British Government has abolished slavery throughout its territories, and recently extended this merciful arrangement to India and other states are initiating the example ; we venture to hope that Your Highness will pass a law, in reference to the slave population of Travancore, similar to that passed by the Government of Bengal and now in operation with regard to slaves in the Honourable Company's territories, and thus perform an act of mercy to a numerous class of your subjects which will make your name precious in Travancore for generations to come as the reliever of the oppressed. We venture to submit to Your Highness that the history of slavery shows that it is the most costly labour that it demeans the owners as much as the slaves and that its extinction greatly conduce to the wealth, intelligence, and social comfort of man, wherever it has been achieved. ..

98. THE LEIPZIG MISSIONARY SOCIETY ON CASTE (1851 A.D.)

During the early nineteenth century the question of the attitude missionaries should take towards caste was much debated. The statement given here was made by K. Graul in a pamphlet entitled *Explanation concerning the Principles of the Leipzig Missionary Society, with regard to the Caste Question,* in the context of a disagreement with missionaries of the S.P.G. The portion quoted here is from pp. 1-4.

The Leipzig Society fully acknowledges that Caste (although on its outset apparently a rather natural distinction of race and occupation) is, as it *now exists among the heathen*, not a merely civil but also religious institution, inasmuch, as in its course of development, in order to stamp it with a higher authority, it has been based on a religious ground. She acknowledges moreover, that Caste, in the sense of the Hindu Shastras, is totally opposed to the word and spirit of the Gospel,—asserting however, that the holding of Caste in the Native Churches is essentially different from the holding of Caste among the heathen : (1) because the indiscriminate partaking of the same cup at the Lord's table necessarily involves the breaking of Caste in the full sense of the Shastras ; and (2) because, by introducing the holy Scripture, which expressly declares the common origin of the whole human race, instead of the Shastras, the heathenish superstitious basis is withdrawn and Caste so ceases to be a religious institution with the Native Christians.

But although our Society views Caste among the Native Christians in the light of a national institution, devoid of its superadded heathenish basis, she is fully aware that even so it is not the best one now, and hopes indeed that in the course of time its rigour will be subdued and the social chasm between the different Castes be filled up,—believing at the same time, that a thoroughly satisfactory change of that deepest rooted national institution cannot be brought about, before the Native congregations attain to the full growth of a national Church. The best means, to help on that natural course of development, the Leipzig Society sees in a sound Christian education for the lower classes,—in the effort of raising them to respectability by means of their acquirements—and in a gradual discountenancing of religious Caste distinctions in the Church. This last point was expressly stipulated and agreed to by the Seceders at Vepery, when they petitioned for readmission into the Lutheran Church.

The principal difference between our society and those, who differ from them, seems to me to consist in the method adopted for the removal of the Caste evils. According to Romans XIV. 17. the Leipzig Society does not hold herself entitled to cut off any one from the body of Christ on account of Caste,—if it be not made a

pretext for notoriously immoral behaviour. Instruction, exhortion and example that Society acknowledges to be the most efficient means and in that point she knows herself to be in full harmony with the Word and Spirit of the Gospel as well as with the practice of the Apostles, who did not interfere with national institutions in any way, except by preaching the truth, by exhorting the weak, and by setting a good example,—as for instance in the case of slavery, although the Greek word for slave (being a neuter) as well as the general usage did not only obscure the common origin of slave and of the master, but placed the slave without the sphere of rational beings altogether, and compared him not only to a ' horse or ox ' but even to an inanimate ' tool ' in the hand of the ' artisan '. (Aristotle : ' the slave is an animate tool and the tool an inanimate slave.') Moreover the Leipzig Society knows herself to side with the great majority of Christian Missionaries from the very beginning of the Christian Church up to the present time. In one word, the attacks of our Society are not so much aimed at the Caste Institution, as at the trusts that as soon as the Caste Spirit is expelled by the Spirit and in the way of the Spirit, all that is wrong in Caste, will fall down as a ' *caput mortuum*'. Now, as the Word of God is Spirit that Society thinks it to be her duty to handle it in its full extent by preaching, teaching and exhorting, and then patiently to wait for the final result, of which there can be no doubt, since ' the word of God is quick and sharper than any two edged sword and pierces even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and the joints and marrow.' Whatever may be effected by merely outward measures, our Society sees in the light of St. Mark ii, 21.22. and although it may be admired by many it cannot excite her admiration, because she knows, that ' man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.'

In order to illustrate the principles of the Lutheran Church on similar points, I beg leave to quote here some words, spoken by Luther on occasion of Carlstadt's hasty and forcible measures against Popish abuses. ' One ought to catch first man's heart, which is effected by handling the word of God, by preaching the Gospel and by detecting the errors of the people. If you would proceed in that manner,—then the word, you preach, would fall to-day into this man's heart and to-morrow into that man's heart. So the *abuse itself* would at last crumble and vanish.—Charity requires, that thou shouldst have patience with the weak, until they become strong in faith like thyself. Thus all the apostles have acted. Summa summarum, I will preach it, I will teach it, I will write it, but I will not use any forcible means. I have all the time only handled, preached, and written the word of God, and while I have been sleeping, that very word has wrought so much, that by its power Popery has been weakened more than by any monarch or emperor.' . . .

99. THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL MISSIONARIES ON CASTE (1853 A.D.)

In the controversy with the Lutheran missionaries, the S.P.G. missionary, G. U. Pope, explains the position of his mission on caste in a pamphlet entitled *A Letter to theTranquebar Missionaries regarding 'Their Position, Their Proceedings, and their Doctrine'*. The portion quoted here is from pp. 9-11.

. . . But that you may be able to judge whether any of our people are right in leaving the communion of the English Church on this ground, permit me to tell exactly what we really do in regard to caste. Some of the Missionaries of the Church of England may do a little less—none, I think, do more—than what I state as our practice. Whether more should not be done is a question which I am not called upon to discuss with you.

1. We do not allow any person to exercise the office of a teacher in any of our Missions who will not eat a meal with the Missionary under whom he wishes to labour. To this regulation you owe nearly, if not indeed all, your accessions. The seceders see that to strengthen your cause is to prepare the way for them and their children's maintenance.

2. In the administration of the Holy Communion we do not allow any distinction whatever. We take care that no one shall come to the table, who would there manifest, by any gesture or act, by sitting apart, or by seeking to communicate before or after his brethren, any feeling of disgust towards his fellow Christians. Of course there is difficulty there. It is painful to insist upon little matters which, under other circumstances, could be overlooked. But this is a thing which must be tested. We must be on the watch to repress any indications of a temper of mind that would convert the gifts of God into a means of condemnation to our people. In charity to them we are bound to pursue this line of conduct. I have heard the Cup of the Lord—the communion of His sacred blood—denounced as *Echil* (in Tamil means filthy leavings), by a communicant because one of lower caste had drunk of it before ! Many (so called) caste Christians would not hesitate thus to speak. Such persons we should certainly exclude. We cannot permit men to come to the altar of the Lord who have aught in their minds against, or in disparagement of their brother. Many such people attend our services and seek our ministrations, but on this account alone seek to receive the Communion from you. And you encourage them ; and thereby render it necessary to remind you of the danger of becoming ' partakers of other men's sins.'

3. I do not allow any caste distinction to be observed in the boarding schools in our mission. All children fed and clothed by me must be treated alike ; must mingle in every respect on equal terms. Why, I have known a little child, not seven years old, burst into a passion of weeping because her eating vessel simply touched that of another child who was of what is called a lower caste. I have known children to run away from the school in droves because a girl of ' lower caste ' went into the kitchen to take away some ashes. This of course we cannot encourage. We cannot cloth these prejudices in mission garments, or feed them with mission rice.

4. I do not in general use caste titles. I am somewhat singular in this respect. The M.D.C.S.P.G. in their recent report use them. I am willing to use any titles of honour to my native brethren, some of whom I respect very highly, but none that shall be peculiar to a caste.

In a note (why not put it into the text), you deny your knowledge of the certain fact that the caste question is the sole cause of the accessions you have received. Now I will tell you the process as it has gone on under my own eyes—as it is going on now.

A man comes to the English Missionaries, and begs to be put into the Catechist's office for a morsel of rice. His caste and often his character too, stand in the way of his employment. He then goes to a congregation where he has relatives and friends and says to them, ' Those English Missionaries wish to make us Pariahs : come with me and join the Lutherans—the old mother church that gives no trouble about caste or any thing else. I shall then obtain an appointment as your Catechist, and a living for myself and family ; and in return I will take care of your interests in every way.' He thus gathers a congregation which is presented to you (under false pretences, no doubt) and by you received, with (it may be) stipulations and provisoes which the people well know how to render nugatory with the assistance of the aforesaid Catechist. You may demand the signatures of the people to your requirements some know nothing about the matter, and all are prepared to sign any thing *pro forma* : but *do you enforce these requirements ?*

100. LETTER OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF GOA TO THE POPE CONCERNING INTERFERENCE WITH PADROADO RIGHTS (1853 A.D.)

This letter, dated Nova Goa, 18th July 1853, was sent to protest the apostolic brief of Pope Pius IX in which Bishop Jeronimo of Macao was censured for conducting religious ceremonies in theChurch of N.S. de Gloria of Mazagon, Bombay. In so far as he was a Padroado bishop, the Portuguese held that he had a right to do this. This is only one episode in the often bitter controversy between Padroado and Propaganda ecclesiastics. Cited in Jno. Godinho, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Orient* (1454-1860), p. 35.

Having been informed that some Ecclesiastics arrogating to themselves powers and authority in various Missions of the Dioceses of Asia, which incontestably belong to the Real Padroado of His Most Faithful Majesty (King of Portugal), and have attempted, in discreditable ways, not in conformity with honesty or Christian principles, to obtain possession of Churches of our Missions, built and erected at the cost of great sacrifices of men and money by the Portuguese, and maintained for more than three centuries by the piety of their Kings and, it also having come to my knowledge that recently the said Ecclesiastics have sent an Apostolic Breve to the Vicars and Curates of our Diocese, whose parishes they intend to usurp, which Breve, if not apocryphal, has been treacherously obtained from the most virtuous Pontiff who occupies the Chair of St. Peter, in which Breve all those who remain loyal to their legitimate Pastors are threatened with suspension of their orders, and considered as schismatics, if, within two months they do not recognise the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic, or of the Agents of the Propaganda ; I as the Delegate of His Majesty, in this part of the World, whose duty it is to assert and uphold the right and prerogatives of the Crown, warn you that the Royal Letters of the 5th April 1652 and 24th March 1748, and many others of different dates prohibit all the Portuguese to recognise any Bull or Pontiffcal Edict, devoid of the *Beneplacito Religio* ; 2, that principles of honour, and the teachings of the Evangel compel every good and honest Christian not to hand over to any one the goods of another party; 3, the notification No. 2608 of the 5th August 1852, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs declares, that His Most Faithful Majesty is determined not to cede any of his rights and prerogatives, as the Patron of the Churches in the East. After all, I am confident that you will consider as null and void the Breve mentioned above of the 9th May 1853, and you will despise the threats of those who have the audacity, and are not ashamed to ask a priest to be a traitor by helping them in the contemplated spoilation.

101. PROCLAMATION ON SLAVERY BY MARTHANDA VARMA UTTARAM THIRUNAL, MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE (1853 A.D.)

In response to the efforts of missionaries and the British Resident the Maharaja of Travançore curtailed the practice of slavery in his realm through the following proclamation. Cited in K. K. Kusuman, *Slavery in Travancore*, pp. 164-166. Translation taken from J. W. Gladstone, 'The Social Impact of the Protestant Missionary Work in South Travancore in the 19th Century', (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis,) U.T. College, 1975, Appendix III.

This is now hereby proclaimed after the consideration of the interest entertained for some time past, that the condition of slaves in our state shall be improved as far as possible without any loss or hardship to the Kudiyans of Government.

1. The Government abandon the right over the children born of the 'Pandaravaka Slaves' usually so-called from the date of the declaration on this proclamation.

2. Though the right over the slaves is abandoned as stated above, the slaves as well as all others should clearly understand that there shall be no change in the customs and untouchability in force according to the respective caste etiquettes.

3. Hereafter no slave shall be allowed to be sold either for the execution of the decisions or orders of the court for the collection of taxes or 'Pattoms'.

4. Slaves shall own and enjoy property just like any other people and they shall not be robbed of such property by any one regarding it as belonging to the slaves.

5. Those who act any thing against the slaves in any unjust manner shall be punishable under regulation VI of 1010 M.E. (1835). All people shall conduct themselves in conformity with this regulation.

6. Hereafter, if there be slaves attached to the properties without heirs and which are confiscated by Government because of escheat, such slaves shall be exempted from slavery without being added on as Government property.

7. Slaves shall not be separated without the consent of their parents and their children, and they shall not either be sold or entrusted to others living beyond twelve miles of their respective dwelling places.

8. Slaves employed by the Government shall be ordered to be paid wages equal to what is paid to the other workers.

9. If the slaves of the Government or of the Kudiyans become disabled for work because of old age or disease, they shall be given what is necessary for their livelihood so as to prevent their misery and suffering.

10. Till the slaves attain the age of 14, they shall not be employed to do any work not suited to their age.

11. As there shall be a definite Register relating to the children born of the slaves after this date, the facts of births and deaths among slaves shall be let known by those concerned to the Tahsildars of ' Mandapathuvathukals ' (Taluks) through the Parvarthikars within 30 days.

If this rule is violated our Dewan has instructions to make the offenders pay the prescribed penalty, to give them the necessary warning and to arrange for the maintenance of a Register.

102. KRICK ON THE CROSS-SHAPED TATTOO OF THE PADAMS (1853 A.D.)

Fr. N. M. Krick, Superior of the South Tibetan Mission of the *Société des Missions Etrangerès*, is the first missionary known to have visited what is today Arunachal Pradesh. He passed through the area twice on his way to Tibet. He and his colleague, Fr. Bourri, were killed by a hostile chief while returning from the second journey in 1854. He wrote extensively concerning his travels through Arunachal. He developed some rather imaginative theories about cross-shaped tattoos he found on the foreheads of the Padams. The following is taken from his ' Account of an Expedition among the Abors in 1853 ', translated by Fr. A. Gille, S. J. published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IX, (1913), pp. 108 ff. Cited in Verrier Elwin, ed., *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 236-249.

Now a few words on the race to which the Padams belong and on the marvellous signs which I have discovered among them . . .

The males are tattooed at the age of eighteen ; the pattern is, in my opinion, of evidently Christian origin. The majority wear on the forehead a perfectly shaped Maltese cross of bluish colour ; others wear the ordinary cross with the vertical beam running along the nose, and the cross-bar above the eyes. Others wear the Lorraine cross, with the upper cross-beam on the forehead, and the lower lying across the bridge of the nose. Others again wear the

Maltese cross on their calves. The women have the Maltese cross tattooed on the upper lip, and on their legs and the Lorraine cross with two St. Andrew's crosses drawn on either side . . .

The men have as a rule their chin tattooed with three vertical and parallel lines ; the women have five or seven of them, as the case may be, on the chin, and four on the upper lip, two on either side of a cross, and the whole set is bracketed . . .

I have often questioned the Padams as to the origin and meaning of these signs. Some answered that God at creation had given them to the Padams as a distinctive mark of the elder tribe ; others asserted that they had received them from a northern tribe ; several confessed their ignorance in the matter, but all agreed as to its being the sign of God, and a most beneficial badge too, as ' he who wears it ', so they said, ' is acknowledged and protected by God ; if he dies, he is at once received into heaven '. ' But what, if he has not the sign ? ' I asked : ' Where is he to go ? ' ' God will disown him and cast him off.'

I may be allowed to hazard here a suggestion with regard to the origin of these signs. It is my opinion, and all those who have come in contact with the Padams agree with me, that the pattern, as I have described it, is the Christian cross. These are briefly my reasons :

1. No other marks are tattooed on their bodies.

2. Their crosses are altogether similar in shape to our four crosses : the ordinary cross, the Maltese, the St. Andrew's and the Lorraine cross.

3. The spiritual meaning attached to them by the natives strongly confirms my conjecture.

What then would be the meaning of the vertical lines, always numbering 3, 5 or 7, with which they tattoo their chins ? Might not the number 3 be reminiscence of the Blessed Trinity, the number 5 a reminder of the five wounds of Our Lord, and the number 7 a figure of the seven Sacraments ? Whereas the four lines on the upper lip might with some plausibility represent some virtues or mysteries.

But when were these emblems adopted by the Padams ? Fr. Athanasius Kircher in his in-folio bearing the title *La Chine Illustrée* mentions several missions established in Thibet, China and Tartary from the time of the Apostle St. Thomas. This book was printed at Amsterdam in 1665. He also published a map, roughly drawn, but giving accurately enough the chief towns and districts ; on it

he traced the route followed by Frs. Francis Corwille and John Grabere from Peking to Goa, through China, Tartary, Thibet and Bengal. These Fathers travelled from Lassa to the North of the Padam country, whilst according to their information Fr. Andrada went as far as the Thibetan town Radoc. Now we are told that in this country they discovered evident traces of the Christian religion, proving to a certainty that the Gospel had been preached to those tribes. They speak of three men who bore the names of Dominic, Francis and Anthony.

In 1826 Colonel R. Wilcox, on discovering the use of the cross among the Padams, made attempts to trace its origin, and found in Hindostan a map on which it was stated that since the twelfth century there existed a mission in the South of Thibet among a tribe called Shokhaptra.

Now, I have entered Thibet by the South-Eastern frontier, without coming across any traces of our holy religion ; several other travellers entered it by the South-West with no greater success. So, it is quite possible that the Shokhaptras be a tribe occupying the South of Thibet, in the vicinity of the Padam country. As a matter of fact, I have often been told by the Padams that there existed towards the North, before reaching Thibet, a tribe which shunned all intercourse with the Padams, and from which they pretended to have received the cross. The Padams, being their next neighbours, must have been struck by the importance those people attached to the cross, and may have adopted it for their own use without guessing much of its meaning. Or it may be that the missionary, in order to bring home to those uncultured minds and hearts the truths of our faith, advised his catechumens to tattoo themselves with the cross ; or anticipating, perhaps, that the missionary's death would leave them without a pastor, the natives may have wished in this manner to preserve a precious deposit of their faith.

I once met a Thibetan who was marked with the same sign ; on my asking where he had learned to wear it, he pointed towards the Padam country, adding that he had received it from the savage mountaineers.

103. GENERAL CONFERENCE OF BENGAL PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES ON VERNACULAR PREACHING (1855 A.D.)

One of the series of local, regional and national inter-denominational missionary conferences that were to play such an important role in the development of ecumenicity in India was held in Calcutta on September 4-7, 1855. Representatives of six missions and three European churches were present. The resolution on vernacular preaching reproduced here provides interesting insights into evangelistic methods of the times ; and the dissenting opinion, which is also reproduced, is equally interesting. *Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries*, 1855, pp. 64-67.

Resolution on Vernacular Preaching

That this Conference concur generally in the views now given by Messrs. Wenger Stubbius of the sphere of vernacular preaching and of the modes in which it may be best carried on. Amongst the various means employed in India for the fulfilment of the great commission, they regard the preaching of the gospel to the people in their own tongue either by European missionaries or by preachers raised up in the country, as the work of highest importance. Though attended with difficulties, they consider it admirably adapted to the instruction of all, who can be brought under its influence ; but they regret that owing to the state and constitution of native society, there are certain classes, such as the members of wealthy families, and nearly the whole female population, who are rarely reached by its agency. So important is it in their eyes, that they consider, that every missionary on arriving in the country should endeavour so to master the language as to be able personally to engage in it : and while such as learn to speak it well, should, if not otherwise directed by providence, devote to vernacular preaching their entire attention. Those who are directed to other plans, should also give to it as much time and effort as they can. They consider that owing to the state of the native mind, every department of vernacular preaching should receive the most careful study ; in order that a missionary may be completely prepared for the various circumstances under which the Hindus are addressed by him ; and especially for the numerous objections with which they meet his exhortations. With a view to secure, as far as possible, the same hearers, they think that in the neighbourhood of a missionary's house or station, preaching in the bazaar to the heathen should be conducted with regularity and on system. They also approve highly to extensive itinerancies amongst villages and towns beyond the ordinary sphere of his labour ; of visits to the great markets, and (in spite of certain disadvantages) of visits to the crowds attending the great melas and religious festivals. If practicable, such itinerancies

should be regular and systematic, so that a missionary may re-visit the same villages, or may remain at any place that seems peculiarly open to the gospel. Though not absolutely necessary, they think that in such itinerancies missionaries may, with great advantage, accompany each other or be accompanied by native catechists : while their visits and their preaching should be followed up by a judicious distribution of suitable tracts and portions of the Word of God.

In looking at the results of vernacular preaching in Bengal, they acknowledge with regret, that though the majority of missionaries have been engaged, for many years, in various parts of the country in this department of missionary labour, it is a remarkable fact that, as compared with the amount of labour and journeying, the number of known conversions to which vernacular preaching to the heathen in the bazaar by missionaries has immediately led, seems to have been small. Indirectly it has produced enquiry, brought enquiries into connection with Christians and Christian services : and in conjunction with other agencies has led to the formation of the native churches now existing. Especially has it contributed to that marked change in religious views, both as to the character of Hinduism and the worth of Christianity, which distinguishes the present generation of the Hindus from those which have preceded it. Regarding these fruits as of the highest importance, the members of this Conference feel abundantly encouraged to continue preaching the word everywhere, sure that the promise will be fulfilled, that we shall reap if we faint not.

Dissent from the Resolution on Vernacular Preaching

1. Because the resolution is virtually a censure upon some of the most venerable missionaries who have ever laboured in this land, who have been mainly employed in other departments of missionary labour, as Bible Translation, Education and the pastorship of native churches. We cannot join in a resolution which necessarily implies that these men have been employed only in subordinate departments of the work.

2. Because in other places, the resolution will probably be understood as implying this censure in a greater degree than the discussions in the Conference shewed that the members understood it ; and in the opinion of the dissentients, the Resolution is liable to such mis-construction.

3. Because one effect of the Resolution will be, to induce young missionaries, when entering upon their labour, to rush into the most difficult department of missionary work, before they are properly qualified for it, and will unduly excite prejudices in their minds against various departments of the work, before they are

capable of exercising an independent judgement as to the comparative value of the several branches into which missionary labour is divided.

4. Because we consider that in certain places, and for certain classes, vernacular preaching is not the most important branch of missionary work.

104. GENERAL CONFERENCE OF BENGAL PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES ON ENGLISH MEDIUM MISSIONARY EDUCATION (1855 A.D.)

The same conference which passed the Resolution cited immediately above also gave attention to the purposes of English medium schools run by the missions. The Resolution cited below emphasises the evangelistic purposes of such schools. *Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries*, 1855, pp. 82-83.

Resolution on English Missionary Education

That this Conference concur generally in the views expressed by Mr. Ewart on the subject of English Missionary Education. The Institutions specially formed carrying it out are not, as some have thought, mere secular schools, intended to elevate the people in the ordinary elements of civilization and knowledge, but thoroughly Christian Institutions, whose aim is to lead all their scholars to the cross of Christ, and whose very department is pervaded by a christian spirit and rendered subordinate to religious ends. On no other condition could missionaries conduct them. They consider that such institutions find their peculiar sphere in the great cities of India, or in localities, where, with a great demand for English amongst the younger natives, Government colleges and schools or other non-religious schools are established, very deficient in the moral training of that interesting class, whose desire can be turned to the furtherance of the gospel. They consider that, in order to prevent these young men falling into infidel error, and to secure an introduction for the gospel amongst the higher classes of the community, these Institutions ought to be collegiate in their character, and give a complete education, both of the intellectual and moral nature of their students ; so as to retain them to an age, when with matured minds and extended knowledge they may appreciate the claims of the gospel. They consider also that to prevent the more secular branches of education from getting into excess, they should be guarded with jealous care ; and that to preserve their missionary character entire, one or more missionaries should not only superintend, but personally engage in conducting them. They consider also that maturity of their scholars' minds, the inferior schools, in which but a smattering of English is received,

and which the scholars leave while but young and ill-educated, are for missionary ends of comparatively little use. They consider that this plan of proclaiming the gospel has spread the knowledge of it extensively among the educated, and introduced into respectable families not otherwise easily accessible to its influence ; has prevented greatly the spread of infidelity among the young ; has greatly diminished the power of the Hindu priesthood and of caste ; and also led in not a few instances to the actual conversion of souls.

105. THE BENARES CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ON THE NATIVE AGENCY (1857 A.D.)

The first North India missionary conference was held at Benares on January 6-9, 1857. This resolution of the conference deals with various aspects of the employment of Indian workers, and stresses their importance. Due to the outbreak of the Rebellion in that year the report of the conference was lost. This resolution is found in a brief account of the meetings published by J. Gregson in 1857, *Brief Account of the Missionary Conference, Lately held at Benares*, pp. 13-14.

Resolution on the Native Agency

That this Conference agree in general with the views expressed by Mr. Newton in the paper now read. As India must evidently be converted chiefly through the instrumentality of its own people. Just as by such instrumentality it has to a degree been subdued under English rule, the Conference consider that it is impossible to overrate the vast importance of raising up a holy and efficient native agency of every kind : and they heartily concur in the recommendation now presented to their notice, that it should be made, both in general and on special occasions the subject of earnest prayer before the throne of God. If He has said, ' Pray ye to the Lord of the harvest, that he will send more labourers into his harvest,' they feel assured that, when such prayer is offered in faith, it cannot be offered in vain. They consider that, owing to their importance, native pastors and missionaries, catechists and schoolmasters, should all be selected with the greatest care, and that no possible means left untried for rendering all these classes of agents as efficient as circumstances will allow. They deem it essentially necessary to their success that pastors, evangelists, and catechists should be men of decided piety ; and most desirable that schoolmasters and teachers instructed not only in a goodly number of branches of general knowledge, but in the best modes of communicating knowledge to others, as, for instance, in the infant school system. For all preachers, the standard of general knowledge should be fixed somewhat high, and as many branches of theological science as possible be included within the course of their studies. They consider that experience has clearly taught, and they accordingly recommend, that, with a view to render all native

preachers apt and ready in their public services, all those branches of knowledge, in which they will have to instruct others, should be communicated to them in the vernacular. They may thus be expected to become familiar with all the terms which they will constantly employ ; with native modes of thought, native illustrations, native objections ; and with that native literature, the doctrines of which they will have continually to refute and explode. At the same time, with a view to secure a larger amount of biblical and general information than vernacular Christian literature alone will permit them to acquire, the Conference think it a great advantage that their preachers should learn English, and that some portions of their studies be carried on in that tongue. The Conference also consider that, while in general school-teachers may claim that amount of salary which their services would command in society generally, all preachers and pastors dependent upon missionary funds should be paid on the great principle, which governs the allowances of missionaries, viz. that they are not paid according to the worth of their service, but only that they may live in comfort, and be freed from secular anxieties. They consider that this salary should be fixed rather under than above the average amount paid to men of a similar position in life. They desire to see the native churches speedily coming forward to support their own native pastors ; and suggest that, where a considerable church has been gathered, and a really fit man can be found as pastor, he should be appointed it ; that the native church should be urged at once to do all they can for his support, and that the society with which it is connected should guarantee and supplement his salary up to a certain point. They recommend strongly at present no catechist should be ordained as missionaries to the heathen, except in the rare cases of men possessing very peculiar endowments and superior religious worth. May the Lord of the Church greatly increase this native agency for the enlargement of his kingdom, in the conversions of many souls !

106. CONCORDAT OF 1857

In an effort to end the jurisdictional dispute between the Padroadists and Propagandists negotiations were entered into between the Pope and the King of Portugal that resulted in the signing of the Concordat of 1857. It was not finally ratified until 6th February 1860, when it was signed by the king. Cited in Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question* vol. II, 1858-1890, pp. 9-12.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity :

His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX. and His Most Faithful Majesty King Don Pedro V., having resolved to make a Treaty,

in which articles of agreement shall be established for continuing the exercise of the rights of the Patronage of the Portuguese Crown in India and China in terms stated in the said articles, have appointed for this purpose two plenipotentiaries, *viz.*, on the part of His Holiness, the Most Eminent and the Most Reverend Cardinal Camillo de Pietro, Apostolic Pro-Nuncio in Portugal ; and on the part of His Most Faithful Majesty, the Most Excellent Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhaes, Peer of the Realm, Privy Councillor, Minister and Honorary Secretary of State, and Grand Cross of the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ ; who, having exchanged their respective full powers, and having found them in good and due form, have assented to the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I

In virtue of the respective Apostolic Bulls, and in conformity to the Sacred Canons, the exercise of the right of the Patronage of the Portuguese Crown shall continue, with regard to India and China, in the Cathedrals declared below.

ARTICLE II

With regard to India:— In the Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Goa ; in the Archiepiscopal Church *ad honorem* of Cranganore ; in the Episcopal Cochin ; in the Episcopal Church of St. Thomas of Meliapor ; and in the Episcopal Church of Malacca.

ARTICLE III

With regard to China :—In the Episcopal Church of Macao.

(*Articles IV, V and VI are wholly concerned with the see of Macao*).

ARTICLE VII

In view of the religious advantages offered by the Holy See, by the creation of a new Bishopric in some part of the actual territory of the Archbishopric of Goa, the Portuguese Government, as Patron, will help as far as it can, in order that this creation may be realised opportunely within the limits and in the localities which, in agreement with the Holy See, shall be deemed most conducive to the good administration of that Church, and the accommodation of the Faithful.

(*Articles VIII, and IX are concerned solely with the see of Malacca*).

ARTICLE X

Since it is laid down that each of the aforesaid suffragan Bishoprics of India shall have such extension as will allow of the prompt and profitable exercise of the Episcopal jurisdiction without difficulty, the high contracting parties agree that, by mutual consent,

the circumscription of the same Bishoprics shall be carried out so as to realise that object.

ARTICLE XI

The Holy Father, having in view the duties of his Apostolic Office, and desirous that there should be a speedy end to the misunderstandings and dissensions which have afflicted and still afflict the churches in the East Indies, to the great detriment of the interests of religion and public peace of the Faithful of those churches—a state of things which His Holiness could not allow to continue without applying a competent remedy ; and His Most Faithful Majesty, King Don Pedro V., being actuated with the very same desire to see those churches prosperous, and tranquility restored within his Christianities—have agreed to proceed without delay to the drafting of an additional Act or Regulation, by which the limits of the said Bishoprics of the Patronage may be defined in the terms of the preceding Article.

ARTICLE XII

In the Bulls of the Bishops that shall be presented (to the Sees) mention shall be made of the limits which have been fixed by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE XIII

For this purpose two Commissioners shall be appointed, one by each of the high contracting parties—who, actuated by a spirit of conciliation, and acquainted with the localities, shall define the respective limits of each diocese. To these Commissioners shall be made known the territories in which the high contracting parties have agreed to the continuance of the exercise of the Patronage of the Crown of Portugal.

ARTICLE XIV

In such parts of the territory as shall remain outside the limits assigned to the abovementioned dioceses in India, new Bishoprics may be founded with the proper formalities ; in which Bishoprics the exercise of the Patronage of the Portuguese Crown shall commence from the date of their creation.

ARTICLE XV

In regard to what has been settled concerning the matter of Article VII of the present Treaty, His Holiness agrees to grant canonical institution to the person whom His Most Faithful Majesty may nominate, appoint, and present to the Metropolitan Church of Goa.

The high contracting parties also agree that as soon as the new Archbishop shall have taken possession, the appointed Commissioners shall proceed to define the limits of the diocese which must be formed in the territory of the same Archbishopric, in conformity with the abovementioned Article VII.

The same high contracting parties also agree, that for the exercise of the ordinary jurisdiction of the new Archbishop, those Churches and Missions, which, at the time of the signature of the present treaty, may be *de facto* under the obedience of the Archiepiscopal See, shall be recognised as forming the provisional limits of his territory ; all the rest, (of the Churches and Missions) which on the same date may be actually subject to the Vicars-Apostolic, shall remain peacefully under the authority of the same Vicars-Apostolic. This state of things shall continue until the definite constitution of the Bishopric that is to be created.

And step by step, according as advance is made in establishing and approving of the limits of the suffragan Dioceses of India, and in effecting the canonical provision for the respective Bishops, the exercise of Metropolitan jurisdiction in these Dioceses by the same Archbishop will be successively recognised by the Holy See.

ARTICLE XVI

As soon as the circumscription of any of the suffragan Bishoprics in India is established, and the Episcopal See provided with convenient means, the presentation of the Bishop made by the Royal Portuguese Patron shall be recognised by the Supreme Pontiff ; and as soon as the respective confirmatory Bulls are issued, the Vicar or Vicars-Apostolic who may happen to be in the territory of that Bishopric shall successively be removed, in order that the appointed prelate may enter on the government of his diocese.

ARTICLE XVII

The present Treaty with its two Annexures *A* and *B*, which form an integral part thereof, shall be ratified by the high contracting parties ; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in Lisbon within four months from the date of the signature, or earlier if possible.

In witness whereof, the plenipotentriaries above-named have signed the original duplicates, in Portuguese and Italian, of the same Treaty, and affixed thereto their respective seals.

Executed at Lisbon, on the 21st day of February 1857

Camillo Card. di Pietro, P.N.A.

Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhaes

THE ANNEXURES

(Of the two annexures attached to the Concordat, that marked A deals with the See of Malacca)

ANNEXURE B

It having been stated in Article XIII ... that the Commissioners shall be informed as to the territories in which the high contracting parties may see fit to continue the exercise of the Patronage : the undersigned Plenipotentiaries declare ... that the said high contracting parties have agreed, that the territory of the patronage of the Crown of Portugal in India shall be the territories of *British India* ; meaning by these words the countries *immediately* or *mediately* subject to the British Government. Therefore the Commissioners should have in view, on the one hand, that the localities do belong to British India, (in the sense defined above) ; as well as the Portuguese Missions, and religious and pious foundations, established through the endeavours and generosity of the Portuguese Government and its ecclesiastical or civil subjects, (even though some of these institutions be not actually under the administration of Portuguese priests) ; and on the other hand attention should be given to the most commodious and prompt spiritual assistance of the shepherd to his flock, taking into account the extent and distance of the missions, the number of Christianities, and other circumstances, for the better attainment of the end in view.

The said high contracting parties have ratified this conjointly with the Treaty.

Lisbon, 21*st February* 1857.

107. BURNELL ON THE UPRISING OF 1857, JUNE (1857 A.D.)

In his letter to the Editors of the *Gazette & Courier*, written while the Uprising is still in progress, the South Indian missionary, T. S. Burnell, reveals a fairly typical reaction to that event. British rule is defended, Christian responsibility is discussed, and concern for the effect upon Christian missions is expressed. His quotations from various sources, indicating the reaction of Europeans, particularly in the south, is of special interest. He writes from Malur, Madura. *Gazette & Courier*, 15 June 1857.

Messrs. Editors :—God in His providence, has by striking events occurring in China of late, turned the attention of the world to that great nation ; and now, again, by recent occurrences of great interest in India, the gaze of mankind will, for the time at least, be

turned toward this land, with its myriads of idolators. Every Christian heart will desire and pray that by these commotions and turmoils the setting up of the Redeemer's kingdom in these two vast realms may be hastened.

During the month of May, great excitement has been produced throughout India by the mutiny of several of the Sepoy (native soldier) in the north of India. Nearly a dozen regiments, located at Meerut, Ferozepore, Mean, Meer, and Delhi, rose in open revolt, the cause being, as is said, the introduction of new cartridges, the paper of which was really, or was imagined to be, prepared with the fat of beef or pork. Thus caste prejudices were offended, and the Sepoys, in their ignorance and superstition, imagined that the English Government was attempting to overthrow their religion, and interfere with caste observance, of which they are so very tenacious.

At Meerut, ten or fifteen European officers, and three or four of their wives and children, were barbariously murdered. After committing great ravages, the mutineers took possession of the ancient and fortified city of Delhi ; and what is remarkable, have held the place for a month. Concerning this surprising state of things, the Madras *Christian Herald* of June 10th, now before me, says, 'The long delay that has occurred in the application of a remedy to the great mutiny in Bengal, tend more to shake public confidence in the stability of the British power in India, than anything that has happened within the memory of the present generation. That the Bengal Sepoys should break out into mutiny is not very surprising—they have been ripe for it for many years—they have never been under thorough military control ; and with their arms always at their command, and a knowledge of their own power, it is rather to be wondered at that their rebellious spirit has not blazed forth at an earlier and more critical period. Neither is it a matter of surprise that the authorities should not have been prepared for so sudden an outbreak. English authorities, from prime ministers down to constables, are never prepared for any emergency. Whether sitting upon an open barrel of gun powder at Cabul, or deliberately commencing a war with Russia, or governing an empire 12,000 miles from home with an army of mercenaries, no English man is ever ready to meet a *contretemps*. But that a whole month should have elapsed since this disastrous event occurred ; that three native regiments, having massacred all the Europeans within their reach, and having marched off unmolested to the next large station, and having there been joined by several more regiments, should occupy the fortified city of Delhi for a month, without a shot being fired at them, this is the most alarming aspect of the case, and one which suggests considerations of the utmost moment.

It shows a degree of weakness in the Indian Government for which we confess we were not at all prepared !

Beside the matter of the cartridges, as the cause of all this widespread and serious difficulty, the influence of Brahmins—many of whom are in the native army—is thought to be a very efficient instrument in the increase of the spirit of mutiny. As showing the number of Brahmins in some of the regiments, and indicating also the unhappy and excited state of the European community, I give an extract from a letter written at Lucknow, the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Oude, of which much has been heard of late in connection with its annexation by the British power. The letter is dated May 21st, and the writer says : ' We are, I must say, in a very dangerous position, although every thing that foresight and untiring energy can accomplish has been done by our noble Chief Commissioner. The native troops have shown that they can never be trusted. One regiment here is most insolently inclined, and as it has nearly six hundred Brahmins in its ranks, no dependence can be placed upon it. The Sepoys all, to a man, (even Sikhs,) declare that no power on earth will induce them to *touch* the new cartridges ; that they do not want to mutiny, we are to beware how we exasperate them. Is not this a nice state of affairs ? Every one is on the alert, and never wanting in caution and preparation. Both the Chief Commissioner's residences are full of ladies, ayahs, children and European women. The prevalent feeling here has lately been displayed in an unmistakable manner. Two days ago a proclamation in Hindoo was pasted on one of the huts near the cavalry lines, in which all Hindoos and Mohammedans were called upon to join in murdering the Feringhees. Yesterday a similar document was placarded in the city in the Persian character. The city people, I hear, await the signal for them to rise *en masse* on the mutiny of the native troops. A portion of these are to all appearance, loyal and staunch, but recent events have shown that they are easily led away. Every one is prepared, and whatever the number of the insurgents, you may be sure that the residents of Lucknow, civil and military, will not be found wanting in the day of trial.'

The writer first quoted makes the following good remarks upon this revolt—a remark the truthfulness of which it is devoutly to be wished the whole British nation felt : ' How earnestly should we desire and pray for the spread of Christianity in this country. The one only bond of union which is ever likely to bind India to England is common Christianity. Our religion is now the source of disunion ; but when the truth shall have set the native mind free and when he who was a murderer from the beginning shall have lost his hold upon the millions of India, then England, if permitted to be the honoured instrument of God's grace, will reign in the affec-

tions of an emancipated and happy people.' He also alludes to his hopes to what is needed to be done and have results of this mutiny, in these words : ' We hope that the rebellion will soon be put down, and present peace be restored, but confidence cannot possibly return, nor will there exist any security, until the constitution of the Bengal native army has been thoroughly remodelled. The Brahmins must be eliminated ; the Sepoys must be brought into subjection. After all, the British Government will suffer more from loss of prestige throughout Asia, and especially in the eyes of our native subjects, than from any other cause. It will take many years to restore this under most favourable circumstances, and the progress of events does not lead us to suppose that circumstances will be very favourable to the re-establishment of " British power and pride ".'

These troubles will, for a while, operate disastrously upon the spread of truth and the prosperity of missions in the north of India. One pious officer, Col. Wheeler had instructed the Sepoys in the truths of the Bible, and this is now made a serious charge against him, and may cost him his place. This is much to be regretted as the influence of the great mass of military men is adverse to the spread of the Gospel ; and such men as Col. W. are greatly needed. However wicked and licentious an officer may be his place is likely to be secure, but true piety and its legitimate fruits render place and favour uncertain. Beside the evil as above, injury must occur to the missions in the cities where the mutinies have happened. Particularly is this true of Delhi, where is or was, a prosperous mission, and where the mutineers have full possession ; and which, perhaps, must be destroyed before they relinquish it.

Bishop Thomas Dealtry, of this Presidency, (signing himself 'T. Madras,') has lately been upon a visitation in the north of India, to supply, as I suppose, ' the lack of service ' of the venerable octogenarian Bishop Wilson of Calcutta. Bishop Dealtry travelled 6,000 miles, visiting forty-five stations, holding thirty-five confirmations, and receiving into full communion 1,370 persons. He, in general, gives a favourable account of all that passed under his eye. He visited missions of the Church Missionary Society at ten places and of the Propagation Society at Cawnpore and Delhi. Of the mission at the last named place, and which I fear is now greatly injured, if not destroyed, he speaks in high terms as follows : ' The mission at Delhi is amongst the most hopeful and promising of our Indian mission fields. The intelligent and well-informed converts, holding as they do high and important positions independent of the mission, the superior nature of the school, with its 120 boys, amongst the best I have visited in India, and the first-rate character for attainments and devotedness of the missionaries and the school-masters are making an impression which is moving the

whole of that City of Kings. It is some discouragement to lose, from the ill-health of his family, the devoted services of the Rev. Jackson, but I hope venerable Society will not fail to supply his place. The eyes of all India are directed to the mission of Delhi. I had the pleasure of preaching for it at three or four places, and of witnessing the zeal and enthusiasm with which it was cherished.' ...

108. RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOUTH INDIA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, OOTACAMUND (1858 A.D.)

The first South India regional missionary conference was held at Ootacamund from 19 April to 5 May, 1858. Among the resolutions adopted were those given here on vernacular preaching, native agency, female educaion, educational policy, and caste. *Proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference*, pp. 157-158, 169-170, 209-210, 211-212, 294-295.

Resolutions on Vernacular Preaching

1. That this Conference unanimously acknowledges the obligation resting upon the Churches and their messengers to preach the Gospel to the people of India in their own tongues, as necessarily involved in their great commission ; and that no apparent want of success attending the efforts to fulfil this duty can ever remove or diminish this obligation.

2. That in seeking to discharge this great duty every practicable method of bringing the truths of the Gospel to bear upon the Native mind may be legitimately employed, and that no one specific method can be justly set up as the Preaching of the Gospel to the exclusion of every other ; and hence this Conference considers that the making known of the Gospel to children and youth, whether heathens or Christians, in classes or schools, and the more public proclamation of the same Gospel to all who will listen to it, in the streets of cities, towns and villages, or in any other place whatsoever, are only different departments of one and the same great work.

3. That as there are peculiar advantages attending each of the different methods employed by Missionaries in making known the truth, which cannot be obtained by any other method, it is highly desirable that they should all be employed in combination and harmony, and that, by means of a wise division of labour, every Missionary should, as far as practicable, take up that department of the work for which he is best fitted, and which appears best adapted to the locality in which he is called to labour.

4. That this Conference especially considers it of the highest importance that Itinerant Labours among the Natives of India, should be systematically pursued in connexion with every Mission,

and that a due proportion of the agency of each Mission should be devoted to it ; the agents so employed being relieved, for the time, as far as practicable, from other Missionary labours.

5. That in order to further the wide diffusion of the Gospel in this heathen land by means of Vernacular Preaching and the successful cultivation of its barren fields, a large increase of agency, both foreign and native, is most urgently needed ; and that the earnest prayers of the Church should be continually addressed to "the Lord of the Harvest, to send forth labourers into harvest '.

6. That the general result, believed to have been produced in favour of Christianity by the preaching of the Gospel in the Vernaculars, as well as the cases of actual conversion which have come to the knowledge of the Missionaries, demand our most grateful acknowledgement to preserve in this most important department of Missionary labour.

Resolutions on Native Agency

1. That while fully acknowledging the vast importance of obtaining a large increase of Agents able to proclaim to the masses of the people the unsearchable riches of Christ in their own tongue, the Conference deeply feels that the first and most anxious care should be, that such Agents be men of decided and earnest piety, characterized by self-denial and devotion, and endowed with a fair measure of intellectual ability and power of communicating knowledge.

2. That where men of this kind are found in the Native Churches they should receive a special training for their work, and that the nature of that training must depend upon their previous attainments, their age, and class of people among whom they are to labour ; but that in every case a sound Biblical and Theological education is indispensable, and that in many cases a high degree of general culture is of the greatest importance, in order that the different classes of the people requiring instruction may each be furnished with teachers suited to their circumstances.

3. That while, in reference to the class of teachers required in the present state of many of the Missions in this country, a sufficient amount of human learning, in addition to Biblical training, may be imparted through the medium of the Vernaculars, yet, for the higher cultivation of those who are to labour among their more intelligent countrymen living in cities and large provincial towns, and especially those who may be ordained over churches in such places, the English language affords facilities and secures advantages of great importance not otherwise to be obtained ; nor, as experience proves, is such English training necessarily with any injury to their character and labours.

4. That in regard to the remuneration of Native Teachers and Ministers, the Conference considers that a scale of payment suitable to one locality may not be applicable to another. It believes that in determining the salaries of their Agent, *viz*. (1) The probable position which such men would have occupied had they not entered upon Missionary service. (2) The general condition and social standing of the people among whom they labour.

5. That in view of all that has been done in this direction, the Conference acknowledges the goodness of God in raising up so many, godly and able Native Agents ; but believes that much yet remains to be done in order to secure an agency worthy of the work, and for this our eyes must be directed to the great Head of the Church, whose prerogative it is to raise up men after his own heart, endow them largely with self-denial and true devotion, and fill them with the knowledge of divine things, and with burning compassion for perishing souls.

Resolutions on Native Female Education

1. The Conference having fully considered the subject of Native Female Education recognizes the paramount importance of educating, on sound Christian principles, the females of this land.

2. They consider that Boarding Institutions for females have served, and do still serve, a most valuable purpose in saving souls, training agents for Mission work, and furnishing suitable wives for educated Christian men.

3. They believe also, that a widely extended system of Christian day-schools for females is a most important method of reaching the masses of the people, and that these should be prosecuted to the greatest practicable extent.

4. That in view of the great difficulties encountered in this work the Conference would strongly urge the necessity of vigorous efforts to form an enlightened national sentiment among the Natives of India, in favour of female education, through the press and by lectures, and to create a Vernacular literature for the schools and for females generally.

5. That this Conference deeply feels the importance of Vernacular day-schools for girls of all classes being, as far as practicable, under the personal superintendence of Missionaries' wives, or other Christian ladies interested in female education ; and that Christian friends in Europe and America should be encouraged to send out and adequately sustain as many devoted and well qualified female agents as they can, to co-operate with the Missionaries' wives and others in this great work.

6. That they also most cordially approve of the proposal, circulated throughout the Madras Presidency, by several ladies in Madras, under the designation of 'A Thank Offering Memorial for 1857,' and earnestly pray that it may be practically followed up in the manner proposed, and signally crowned with the divine blessing. All the Missions, they fully believe, will do all in their power to aid in carrying out this truly Christian project.

Resolutions on the Government System of Education

1. That this Conference believes that the secular knowledge which has been imparted to many Native youths by means of the Government system of education has been a real benefit, notwithstanding the serious evil of the exclusion of the Bible ; they believe that it is better that the Native mind should be disabused of the absurdities of the prevailing systems, and prepared by a true knowledge of history and science and by a healthy discipline, to receive, intellectually at least, the Divine system of Christianity.

2. That they desire to give expression to their most solemn and deliberate conviction, that it is the duty of the Christian Government of this Heathen and Mohammedan country, not only to impart to all who will receive it true knowledge on all secular subjects ; but also to abstain from all teaching of Hindu and Mohammedan errors in their schools, while, in order to afford the fullest opportunity to all the pupils of learning the true nature of the Christian religion from the Bible itself, they should introduce it into all their schools in order to be read each day during the first hour of teaching, and that the attendance of the pupils during that hour should be voluntary. Moreover they consider that it should be publicly declared by the Government that all teachers in Government Schools are at full liberty to teach the Word of God to those of their pupils who may be desirous to study it, and that in the working of the schools suitable arrangements should be made for that purpose.

3. That it is notorious that such has not been the course pursued by the Government in the past, except in some isolated and recent instances, it cannot but have been that its conduct has been offensive to Him who has said,— 'He that is not with me is against me ;' and while the Conference would not presume to interpret minutely the dispensations of Divine Providence, they cannot but call to mind the authority which says, 'The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish' ; and feel that the terrible calamities which have recently fallen on this land are at once a chastisement for the past and a warning for the future.

4. The Conference is further of opinion, that the Government should put forth the most determined efforts to cover the whole land with good elementary Vernacular Schools, as such are best

adapted to meet the wants of the masses of the people, and raise them from their present degradation and ignorance. They believe that this is demanded not only as a matter of justice on behalf of the toiling millions who are mainly the producers of the revenue, but also that it would be the wisest policy on the part of Government, which would thus really strengthen its hold on the masses of the people, by teaching them to appreciate more truly its benevolent designs, both in this department, and in that of the development of the physical resources of the country, as well as in all other measures intended to promote their social and national advancement.

5. That in view of the vast importance of the subject of Government instruction in its bearing on the moral and social well-being of the people of India, it is in the highest degree desirable, that great care should be exercised in the selection and appointment of unexceptionable persons to have the charge and oversight of these institutions.

6. That it is much to be wished that the Government should fully enunciate, and in all cases consistently carry out, what is believed to be now their wish and intention, that all books used in their institutions should be entirely freed from every thing favouring heathen ideas ; and that, therefore, all invocations of Heathen divinities, passages inculcating Caste, Fate, or the Metempsychosis, and all impure and equivocal expressions should be carefully expunged.

7. That while undoubtedly much diversity of opinion exists among various bodies of Christians as to the propriety of accepting pecuniary aid from any secular Government in the prosecution of their work, no correct estimate can be formed of the tendency and character of the effort of Government for the instruction of the masses of its subjects in India, without a reference to the question of Grants-in-Aid ; and that in the provision made for the grant of pecuniary assistance to such conductors of Missionary Schools as feel at liberty to avail themselves of it, a convincing proof is afforded of the desire of the Government to assist in extending the benefits or education, by all available means, to all classes of the people.

Resolutions on Caste

1. That this Conference regard Hindu caste, both in theory and practice, as not a mere civil distinction, but emphatically a religious institution ; and viewed in this, its true character, it is the monster evil of India, so paramount and all-prevailing in its power and influence, so tyrannical and cruel in its laws and regulations, so stern and exacting in its demands, so terrific in its denunciations.

of present and future punishment for the slightest offence, and yet so changeful and accommodating in its manifestations, that it is no marvel that millions have for ages fallen prostrate before it, and that no arm of flesh can deliver them from its thraldom.

2. That it is the duty of all Missionaries to spare no pains, on all proper occasions, to expose the absurdities and falsehood, as denounce the wickedness of caste, to show its great injuriousness to all classes of its votaries, and its great obstructiveness to all efforts for the improvement of their temporal condition, as well as its soul-destroying influence.

3. That it is also the duty of all Missionaries and Churches to require its unreserved and unequivocal renunciation, with all its outward manifestations, by all those who take up the profession of Christianity, and join the ranks of the Redeemer. No man should be regarded as worthy the name of Christian who refuses to renounce caste and to remove all its outward marks, or who objects to any kind of intercourse, with any other Christians, simply on the ground of its distinctions.

4. That the greatest vigilance is indispensably necessary to prevent the return of this evil spirit after it has once been cast out, and to guard against the power of habit which it has so deeply inwrought into the very souls and hearts of men. Let a holy sagacity and an unbending firmness be constantly employed in detecting and opposing all its workings, in all the intercourse of the Christian life.

5. That it is the duty of all Christians to unite in protesting against all recognition of caste in all the public acts of Government, whether direct or indirect, and in the whole of the Military and Civil Services. Caste should be a thing entirely unknown in its connection.

109. MISSIONARIES AND INDIAN CHRISTIAN WORKERS KILLED DURING THE REBELLION OF 1857 (1859 A.D.)

The following list of missionaries, chaplains and Indian Christian workers killed during the Rebellion of 1857 was compiled by M. A. Sherring and published, in 1859, in *The Indian Church in the Great Rebellion*. Reproduced in R. D. Paul, *They Kept the Faith*, pp. 45-48.

Missionaries and Chaplains

Rev. M. J. Jennings, Chaplain of Delhi, and Miss Jennings. Both killed in their own house on the gate of the palace.

Rev. A. R. Hubbard, of the Propagation of the Gospel Society, Delhi, killed by the mutineers in the Delhi Bank.

Rev. John Mackay, of the Baptist Missionary Society, Delhi, defended himself with several friends in Col. Skinner's house for three or four days, when the roof of the cellar in which they had taken shelter was dug up by the order of the king and they were all killed.

Rev. David Corrie Sandys, of the Propagation Society, Delhi and son of the Rev. T. Sandys of the Church Society, Calcutta. Killed by the mutineers near the magazine, in attempting to return from the mission school to his own house.

Mr. Cocks and Mr. Louis Koch, both of the Propagation Society, killed by the mutineers in the Delhi Bank.

Mrs. Thompson, widow of the Rev. J. T. Thompson, formerly Baptist missionary in Delhi, and his two adult daughters. —All three killed in their own house in Delhi.

Rev. Thomas Hunter, missionary of the Church of Scotland, Sialkot, Mrs. Hunter and their infant child killed in their buggy while fleeing to the Fort. A ball passing through the face of Mr. Hunter, entered the neck of his wife ; a gaol warder completed the murder with a sword killing the child also.

Rev. John M'Callum, Officiating Chaplain of Shahajanpore. Rushing from the church where the residents had assembled for divine worship, on its being surrounded by the mutinous sepoys, he escaped with the loss of one of his hands ; but in the evening of the same day he was attacked by labourers in a field and was finally decapitated by a pathan.

Rev. J. E. Freeman and Mrs. Freeman ; Rev. D. E. Campbell, Mrs. Campbell and their two children ; Rev. A. O. John, and Mrs. John ; Rev. R. M'Mullen and Mrs. M'Mullen, of the American Presbyterian Board of Missions, Futtehgur. —All killed by the Nana at Bithoor.

Rev. F. Fisher, Chaplain of Futtehgur, Mrs. Fisher and their infant child escaping from Futtehgur in boats, they were attacked by sepoys, and on jumping into the river, Mr. Fisher swam with his wife and child towards the bank but they were both drowned in his arms on the way. Mr. Fisher was afterwards captured by the Nana's party and slain at or near Cawnpore. Rev. E. T. R. Moncrieff, Chaplain of Cawnpore, Mrs. Moncrieff and their child—Mrs. Moncrieff was killed in the intrenchments on the ninth day siege.

Rev. W. H. Heycock, of the Propagation Society, Cawnpore and Mrs. Heycock his mother, both killed at Cawnpore. Mr. Heycock was shot just as he was entering the intrenchments.

Rev. H. E. Cockey of the Propagation Society, Cawnpore, wounded in the thigh by a musket ball and afterwards shot on the parade ground at Cawnpore, together with other Europeans in the presence of the Nana. Rev. G. W. Copeland, Chaplain of Gwalior. Killed on occasion of the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent.

Rev. H. I. Polohampton, Chaplain of Lucknow. Shot by a musket ball, while attending on the sick in one of the hospitals in the Residency; but partially recovering from his wound eventually sank from an attack of cholera.

Rev. W. Glen, Agra, son of the late Dr. Glen of Persia, and formerly missionary of the London Missionary Society, Mirzapore, and his infant child. —Both died in the fort of Agra from privations.

Mrs. Buyers, wife of the Rev. W. Buyers, missionary of the London Missionary Society, Benares, died from dysentry, brought on chiefly by anxiety of mind induced by the disturbances in Benares.

Indian Christians

Willayat Ali, Catechist of the Baptist Mission, Delhi. Killed by a party of Mohammedans in the streets of Delhi, at the time of the outbreak.

Thankoor, Catechist of the Propagation Society's Mission, Delhi. Killed by troopers in the streets of Delhi.

Dhokul Parashad, headteacher of the Futtehgur Mission Schools, his wife and four children.—All killed in company with the Europeans in the parade at Futtehgur. The sepoy first fired grape at the party and then despatched the survivors with their swords.

Paramanad, Catechist of the Baptist Mission, Muttra. Killed by the rebels.

Solomon, Catechist of the Propagation Society's Mission, Cawnpore. Cruelly put to death by the Hindus during the occupation of Cawnpore by the Gwalior contingent.

Ram Chandra Mitter, Headmaster of the American Presbyterian Mission school, been murdered at or near Futtehpur.

Jiwan Masih, Catechist. Supposed to have been killed near Delamow.

Sri Nath Bhose, formerly Catechist and Teacher, his wife and children. All supposed to have been murdered in Oudh.

Raphael, Catechist of the Church Mission, Goruckpore. Died from wounds inflicted by the rebels, and from anxiety and sickness, during the troubles in Goruckpore.

There is a name left which should live in the memories of God's people. Chaman Lal, Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Delhi; was massacred by the mutineers in his own house in Delhi. He was a man of exemplary piety and was thoroughly in earnest in his Christian life and profession. The native church has lost in him one of its brightest ornaments.

To these must be added the names of confessors, or others such as the Rev. Gopeenath Nundi, his wife and child, Allahabad.

110. KAYE ON THE CAUSES OF THE UPRISING OF 1857, AND PROPOSED REMEDIAL RELIGIOUS POLICY (1859 A.D.)

J. W. Kaye's analysis of the causes of the Uprising of 1857 and evaluation of the proposals made for a more aggresive religious policy subsequently represent a moderate approach not always evident in European writers of the times. He strongly supports the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation of 1 November 1858, the relevant portions of which are quoted. Selections from J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India: an Historical Narrative*, pp. 485-496.

... The great rebellion of 1857 has, however, brought all this good work to a fearful stand-still, and it now only remains for us to consider how far the great question of the diffusion of the Gospel in India is affected by recent calamitous events.

The first point that suggests itself for inquiry is, to what extent, if to any, have those calamities resulted from the measures, related or glanced at in the preceding chapters, for the religious enlightenment or the social improvement of the people. To the solution of this, and of almost every other question connected with the great subject of Christianity in India, the most extreme opinions have been brought. On one side it has been declared that the mutiny has resulted from the religious apprehensions of the people, excited by the continued innovations of the English, threatening their ancestral

faiths and their time-honoured social usages : and on the other side, it has been asserted with equal confidence that God has visited us with this affliction as a signal mark of his displeasure on account of our national remissness in the great work of upholding His Kingdom and diffusing His word. The truth will be found somewhere at a considerable distance from either of these extremes ; but the latter hypothesis is infinitely more unreasonable than the former. Whatever our national remissness—how little soever may have been the all that we have done to establish Christ's kingdom among the Gentiles of the Eastern world, we were never striving more earnestly or more successfully to build up that kingdom, than at the very moment when the great chastisement overtook us.

And, on that account, did it overtake us ? Not wholly on that account ; but partly on that account. It would be as uncandid to deny that the religious and social innovations of the English in India had anything to do with the outbreak, as it would be unjust to assert that they were the sole causes of it. There is nothing more difficult than to determine the extent to which the feeling of insecurity engendered by these innovations found its way to the inner heart of society. It has been said, in language of exultation, that ' the whole land has been shaken by Missions to its innermost centre ; and that Hindoos and Mahomedans alike are trembling for their religions.' This language may be exaggerated ; but, although the effect produced upon the great mass of the people may have been far more superficial than is here supposed, I cannot doubt that the fears of the priesthood have been largely excited. They have trembled for their offices ; trembled for their gains ; trembled for the exclusiveness, which made them sovereigns among the people. And we may be sure that they did their best, in a conjecture of circumstances favourable in the extreme to their designs, to alarm and to irritate the public mind by propagating reports of the intention of the British Government forcibly to convert the people to Christianity. Preposterous as is this idea of forcible conversion, it has often taken possession of the minds even of the more educated classes ; and in the astute hands of Pandits and Moulavees no more formidable weapon can be convinced. The delusion once propagated, the hostile chiefs knew how to turn it to account ; and they invariably charged their proclamations with appeals to the religious feelings of the people, who were incited to make common cause against the encroaching Feringhee.

That this apprehension of the destruction of the ancient religions of the people was *but* one of many concurrent sources of irritation is certain ; but it is equally certain that it was one. I have endeavoured, in the most impartial spirit, to ascertain whether any special animosity against missionaries and missionary establishments has

been exhibited by the insurgents, but there has been too much inconsistency in their conduct to admit of any general inferences being fairly deduced from it. It is certain, however, that native Christians were assailed with as much bitterness as Europeans; but this may have been, not so much on account of their faith, as because of their steadfast adherence to the British. In many cases, English scholars—that is, Hindoo or Mahomedan readers and writers of the English language—were special objects of popular indignation. It is true that, in some places, the Christian Sabbath was fixed upon as the appointed day of insurrection, and the first attack made upon the Christian Church. But this seems rather to have been a point of convenience than of fanaticism; the great aim of the mutineers, an indiscriminate massacre of the Europeans, being greatly facilitated by their assemblage under a common roof, and the absorption of their minds by a common object. All symptoms, indeed, fairly considered, it does not appear that the anger of the insurgents was especially directed against the Christianity of their victims. The apostacy of all the Christians in the country would not have stayed the insurrection, nor do I believe that it would have even mitigated its fury.

I do not perceive anything, therefore, in these recent calamitous events to induce us to retrace any of the steps which we have taken; but, assuredly, greater caution during the next few years is rather to be counselled than less. The religious neutrality of the British Government in India has been proclaimed by the Queen in Council, and must ever be a substantive article of our political faith. One of the prime objects—nay the prime object (for we can do nothing without it) of all our efforts, as a Government and as individuals, during the first years succeeding the suppression of the mutiny, is the tranquilization of the public mind. Such a conflict must necessarily leave behind it an irritable condition of the whole frame of society, demanding from us the application of the most soothing remedies. Until we have restored the national confidence in the non-aggressive spirit of the British Government, all that we do will be regarded with suspicion, and, perhaps, repelled with aversion. I cannot think, therefore, that the present time is one either for the verbal enunciation, or for the practical demonstration, of what is called 'a bolder Christian policy'. I cannot think, as many excellent people think, that this is the time to 'strike'. Let the State proclaim its own religion as manfully as it will; but in what relates to the religion of others, it cannot be too quiescent.

It is not, perhaps, sufficient to speak out on such a subject in mere generalities. An appeal has been made to the public mind on certain specific points of practice, and it may not be unprofitable briefly to consider them. One leading feature of the Christian scheme of some religious reformers is the abolition of all endow-

ments granted by the State to the religions of the country. This question has already been discussed. To advocate such a measure is to advocate such a discreditable breach of faith ; and so long as Christianity is endowed from the revenues of India, such a proposal strikes at the very root of the neutrality which is professedly the principle and practice of the British Government. It is not necessary to repeat what has been said on this subject in a preceding chapter.

Then it is recommended, by some able and excellent men, that Christianity should be openly taught in our Government schools ; that ' the formation of Bible classes of an improved character in as many schools as possible should be a recognised branch of the educational department ', and that ' inspectors should endeavour to establish them in the same way as they originate improvements of any other kind.' This doctrine is supported by the high authority of Sir John Lawrence and Colonel Herbert Edwardes. The objection is of a kindred character to that which applies to the proposal for the abolition of religious endowments. How can we, in accordance with any system of religious neutrality, apply the revenues of India to the instruction of the people in the tenets of Christianity, without, at the same time, instructing in their own national religions ? If Christianity is to be taught in the schools, supported by the public purse,—or, in other words, by the labour of the people—Hinduism and Mahomedanism must also be taught, or there can be no such thing as neutrality. But if we were to set out from a new starting-point and to ignore the neutrality principle altogether, what then ? The evangelization of the people is the great object to be attained ; and I have a profound conviction that that object will not be promoted by a measure, the effect of which, in all probability, would be to empty the Government schools. It is now answered to this, that the missionary schools in which Christianity is openly taught, are well attended by heathen children. The people associate the idea of missionary teaching with that of argument and persuasion ; but all Government measures are identified in their minds with authority and coercion. However repugnant to reason may be the idea of forcible conversion to Christianity, it is a disturbing fact in the minds of the people. Send, as is proposed, chaplains, or missionaries, or ordained schoolmasters, or other competent religious instructors, into the Government schools, and a notion, however preposterous, of this forcible conversion will immediately take possession of the public mind. In the neutrality of the Government lies the hope of the missionaries. It is the basis of all evangelical success. To depart from it will not be to promote, but to obstruct the progress of Christianity ; and, therefore, I devoutly hope that the principle will be maintained.

Moreover, it is proposed that whilst we are doing everything that we can do to demonstrate the vitality of the Christian religion,

the British Government should check the demonstrativeness of the religions of the country. Hindoo and Mahomedan processions are abominations in the eyes of Christian men ; and, therefore, it is said that a Christian Government should not be satisfied with withdrawing from all constructive sanction and support of these obstrusive ceremonials, but should actively suppress them by the strong hand of the law. All religious processions, it is said, might be abolished, ' not on religious ground '—that is, not professedly on religious grounds, ' but simply as a police measure.' How would this affect the question of religious neutrality ? By prohibiting all religious processions, it is said, we should prohibit those of the Christian religion. Now Romanism, it is true, delights in these processions, and in India fairly competes with Mahomedanism or Hindooism in its external displays. But Protestantism does not delight in processions, and Protestantism is the religion of the State. An Act therefore, prohibiting religious processions in the public streets, would affect all creeds but that of the Government passing the Act. It is not, therefore, very apparent that, give it what gloss you may, such a measure would be in conformity with our avowed principles of neutrality and toleration ...

But the ability of the British Government to suppress these religious processions may be fairly doubted. It is difficult to imagine anything more fatally calculated to exasperate both Hindoos and Mahomedans, and to incite them to violent resistance. The prohibitions of religious processions (including, I presume, marriage processions—events of daily occurrence,) can only be enforced at bayonet's point ; and at a time when every effort should be directed to the tranquilization of the public mind, I can imagine nothing more pernicious—but for the high character of those from whom the proposal emanates, I should say anything more insane—than to provoke desparate collisions between Fanaticism and Authority. The natives of India would, not unreasonably, regard the suppression of their external ceremonies as an act of religious persecution to be speedily followed by the demolition of their mosques and pagodas ; and we should soon be in the midst of all the horrors of another rebellion not to be trodden out as speedily as the last.

The disallowance of native holidays is another measure of reform which has recently been advocated. At the period of certain native holidays there is a suspension of public business. Government recognises these festivals by the temporary closing of its offices ; and private establishments, dependent upon native agency, follow the example. Now, it is perfectly clear that we have no more right to compel the official attendance of Hindoos at the time of the Doorgah Poojah, than of Christian underlings on Good Friday or Christmas-day. But it is not equally plain that, therefore,

the state is bound to recognise these festivals by closing the public offices. It would be sufficient, for all purpose of toleration, to grant leave or absence to every public servant applying for permission to absent himself, in order that he may perform the service of his religion. There are in every Government office men of various creeds, and there will at the time of any particular festival, be a sufficient number of servants not called away to take part in it, to perform the current duties of the department. The middle course here recommended will answer all purposes ; it will continue to the natives of the country the privilege which they have heretofore enjoyed, and which, indeed, they have a right to expect ; and it will release the Government from the necessity of a general observance of the native holidays in a manner calculated to impress the people with the belief that their festivals are approved by the State.

Another suggestion is, that Christianity should be encouraged and supported by a more liberal extension of State patronage to Christian converts. There would seem to be an impression on the public mind in England that native Christians are, somehow or other, excluded from public employment. There can be no greater mistake. There is no law or regulation prohibiting their appointment to any office under the State, and if practically there is any exclusion, it must be of a local and accidental character. I never heard that Government, as a Government, had any objection to the employment of native Christians. If, however, the number of these converts employed throughout India in the public service does not bear a just proportion to the number of Hindoos and Mahomedans so employed, and if they be equally well qualified for office, there is a reasonable presumption that personal prejudices have operated to the disadvantage of the class. The only way to remedy the evil is to remove those prejudices. Any open and systematic encouragement to Christian converts of the nature proposed, is to be depreciated. Firstly, because we cannot, without offence to Christianity itself, bribe people to embrace it. And, secondly, because any special indulgence to Christians, on the score of their religion, would be an injustice to the people of other religious persuasions, and a departure from our avowed principles of neutrality and toleration. Any exclusion from office or any disproportionate preferment, on the score of religion, would be equally unjust.

Such are the special questions of a purely religious character which have recently been brought to the notice of the English people, in connection with the momentous subject of the future career of Christianity in India. So far, then, as by 'a bolder Christian policy', it is meant to signify increased aggressiveness against the religions of the country, the recommendation, from whatsoever quarter it may proceed, must be rejected by the Imperial

Government. Nay, indeed, it has already been rejected. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which, on the 1st November, 1858, was promulgated by the Indian Viceroy to the princes and the people of the country, contained these significant words ;—
' Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our conviction on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure, that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and we do strictly charge and enjoin those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.' In these words the Christianity of the British Government and the British nation is worthily asserted, and the toleration of the State distinctly proclaimed . . .

111. THE UPPER-CLOTH REBELLION : LETTER OF T. MADAVA RAO TO GENERAL CULLEN (1859 A.D.)

According to tradition the low caste Shanar women of Travancore were not permitted by the upper castes to wear any clothing above the waist. When Shanars were converted by London Missionary Society missionaries, they were requested to wear clothing on the upper portions of their bodies. When the Shanar women began doing so it led to a widespread conflict with the higher castes that came to be known as the ' Upper-Cloth Rebellion '. Though the missionaries were undoubtedly motivated by their own western notions of propriety, the agitation, in fact, took on the character of a social movement. Madava Rao, the Dewan of Trvancore, wrote a letter to General Cullen, the British Resident, describing the situation. It is found in *Copies of the Official Papers sent from India touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore*, 1859, pp. 8-10.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to submit to you a concise report of the origin, progress and suppression of the recent disturbances in South Travancore, adding a few observations which the subject suggests.

2. You are aware that in the Malabar year 1004, corresponding with 1829, Christian era, her Highness the Ranee,[1] with the concurrence of the British Resident, issued a proclamation, permitting the use of a jacket, called cooppayam, on the part of Christian Shanar women, and prohibiting the use of the upper cloth on the part of Hindu Shanar females. In contravention of the provisions of this proclamation, the Shanar women, particularly, those of

converts to Christianity, had, it appears, begun, though not prominently, to wear a dress similar to that worn by Soodra and Brahmin females, and this you are aware, occasionally gave rise to trouble ere this. About the time of the appearance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, either the practice became more general and conspicuous, or the Soodras felt more encouraged to resist it, or, what was perhaps more likely, both the causes operated together. Both parties became equally determined. The Shanars, probably influenced, in a measure, by the recent events in the contiguous district of Tinnevelly, would by all means bring the upper cloth into use. The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead, though they had less cause for complaint, the proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets, which had been on all hands acknowledged as a more decent covering than the upper cloth. But they probably desired a total abolition of all restrictions as to dress, and calculated upon the sympathies and support of the European missionaries residing among them. The Soodras, forming the majority of the population under the influence of caste feelings, which, you know, have least relaxed in force in Travancore, and feeling that they had the proclamation too much in their favour, equally resolved to put down the innovations attempted by the Shanars ; from this state of feelings the steps to open disturbances were not many.

3. As the Shanars took it upon themselves to infringe the Proclamation of 1004 M. E., so too Soodras took it upon themselves to punish such infringement. The Shanar women were attacked when they openly appeared with what was considered the high caste costume. The Shanars, on the other hand, did not confine themselves to a bare defense ; they, too, retaliated the outrages on Soodra women. Hostile feelings gathered strength. A chapel had been burnt down in Maycode on the 27th December last. An affray occurred in the Kotar bazar on the 30th idem. A more serious one, assuming the dimensions of a riot, also followed at the great market of Erneel on the 10th ultimo. The panic, it seems, was great, and men on both sides were said to have been severely ill-treated, and some wounded, though only a few appeared before the cutcherry with formal complaints, the others having probably been deterred by the consciousness of misconduct. /On the same night another chapel, and the Residency bungalow at Nagercoil, were destroyed by fire, evidently at the hands of incendiaries. Between the 11th and 16th two more chapels at different places shared the same fate ; two missions schools were similarly destroyed ; a mob of Soodras assaulted a Shanar and his wife at Tittoovellay, and his house, and 27 houses adjoining it, were burnt down. / Other chapels and houses were said to have been openly threatened. It was reported that the Shanars of the Agasteeswarom district were raising men and money, and proposed combined and

systematic resistance to Sirkar authority, and the plunder of the villages and towns. It was also clear that they had solicited the co-operation of the Shanars residing in the district of Tinnevelly in the vicinity of the frontier.

4. The first intimation I had of the existence of unsatisfactory feelings was, when I happened to be at Pudpanabapoorom, about the end of December last. Numbers of Shanars and Soodras, with Lubbays, waited on me, and complained against each other, on the subject of the upper cloth. The police officer of Erneel also wrote to me on the subject. The Deputy Peishcar in charge of the southern division, too, thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious, that as long as the Proclamation of 1829 is in force, the Shanars, both Hindoos and Christians, are bound to conform to its provisions, that no section of subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people, on the ground that, in their opinion, the law ought to be changed ; that the only legitimate course open to them is to continue to submit to it, and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change, with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations, a public warning was given on the 27th of December last, to the effect that existing rules and usages should be respected ; that if any class of people desired a change, they should represent the case to the Sirkar. and await its decision ; that, on the other hand, on no account should breaches of the peace be caused. For a short while there was an appearance of quiet ; but soon after the Peishcar in the south reported the Kotar affray, and suggested that the police should be strengthened, and that a detachment of Sepoys should be sent down to overawe. Orders were forthwith given accordingly ; and a detachment of the Nair Brigade consisting of 100 rank and file, with the usual complement of commissioned and non-commissioned, were sent at once. Some members of the London Mission, residing in the south, arrived at Trivandrum, and personally represented to yourself and to me the state of matters there. I had the permission of his Highness and yourself to go to the scene of disturbances.

5. On the 14th ultimo I reached Pudpanabapoorom. A detachment of the Nair Brigade had already arrived there on the 11th. I was followed by Captain Daily, who was put in command of all the troops in the southern districts. The troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. The police was further strengthened in different places ; auxiliary police officers were appointed to keep the peace, and speedily inquire into and dispose of police cases, which were of course expected to be numerous at the time. Some minor Sirkar officials, who appeared to have acted improperly were suspended from employment. Some of the leaders of

both parties concerned in these disturbances were apprehended ; other measures, too, were taken with a view to preserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit obedience to its authority from all classes of its subjects soon became known ; and I am happy to add, that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquility has been restored. I have the pleasure to acknowledge here the zealous exertions of the Deputy Peshcar Shungoony Menowen on this occasion.

6. Though matters had assumed a very serious aspect, I am glad to be able to state that the mischief already done is far from being considerable. I beg to enclose a memorandum showing the probable value of the chapels and schools destroyed by fire. It is to be observed that the roofs of the buildings in question are all thatched. No loss of life or limb has occured anywhere.

7. As regards future arrangements, I think it desirable that the detachment of the Nair Brigade, now in the south, should continue there for some little time longer. The additional police establishments should also be continued. A re-arrangement of officials in certain localities will be necessary ; about which, however, I may write to you at another time. I may also sumbit in a very few days my plans for better organising of the whole country.

8. The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the Proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so.

Trivandrum,

12 February, 1859.

112. THE UPPER-CLOTH REBELLION : LETTER OF MISSIONARIES TO LORD STANLEY (1859 A.D.)

The letter of four missionaries to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, dated 26 March 1859, concerning the Upper-Cloth Rebellion in Travancore (see previous entry) indicates the level of missionary interest in the matter. Cited in *Copies of the Official Papers sent from India touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore*, 1859, p. 3.

My Lord,

We have the honour to lay before your Lordship copies of the papers noted in the margin (Consultation, 1 Feb. 1859, Nos. 4 to 6. Consultation, 8 Feb. 1859, Nos. 19 and 20. Consultation, 15 March

1859, Nos. 10 to 15.) having reference to the recent disturbances in South Travancore ; and in doing so, we would solicit special attention to the report submitted through the Resident by the Dewan Madava Row on the origin, progress, and suppression of these disturbances, as also to the Minutes recorded by our President and the Civil Members of Government on the subject.

2. The agitation, it will be seen, occurred in the three or four Southern Districts of the Travancore Territory between portions of the Soodra and Shanar populations, and appears to have arisen from some Hindoo Shanar women having assumed the right of covering the upper part of their persons with a cloth, which was objected to by the Soodras as preventing a recognition of the caste.

3. Disturbances from a like cause broke out in the year 1829, on which occasion her Highness the Ranee of Travancore in her proclamation of 3rd February 1829, republished, 'as the only Regulation in force in the matter,' a previous circular Order of May 1814, whereby no women of Palavres, Shanars and others of that description, were ever to be allowed to wear cloths on their bosoms as the Nair women, but, were not prevented from wearing jackets, called coopayum, such as were in use by the women of Christian converts and of some other castes.

4. Your Lordship will perceive from the last paragraph of our proceedings of the 27th January last, that the Resident has been instructed to be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government, of which he is the representative, recognises any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following in all matters of social or domestic life such course as they may see fit, provided it be no repugnant to public decency and morals. He has also been desired to impress these views on his Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the Circular Order of May 1814, or in the Proclamation of 3rd February 1829, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects.

5. We now await information as to the result of the communication which the Resident has held with his Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions as above conveyed to him ; as also regarding the arrangement proposal to be made by the Dewan with a view to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties, as far as it may be possible to do so. There is reason to hope that the excitement in Travancore is subsiding, and that no further disturbance or breach of the peace need be apprehended.

6. We take this opportunity to forward and to request attention to a correspondence with the Government of India, relative to the appointment of a Commission for investigating the condition of the Travancore State (From Government of India, 9 March 1859, No. 963. To Government of India, 23 March 1859, No. 183.)

We have, &c.

(Signed) Harris.
Jas. Grant.
Walter Elliot.
W. A. Morehead.

Fort St. George, 26 March 1859.

113. THE UPPER-CLOTH REBELLION : TREVELYAN'S INSTRUCTION TO CULLEN (1859 A.D.)

The following extract is from the Minute of the President (Madras) C. E. Trevelyan dated 6th May 1859, which consists mainly a copy of a letter sent to General Cullen, British Resident in Travancore. In effect the letter instructs the Resident to interfere in favour of the Shanar cause in the wake of the Upper-Cloth Rebellion (see previous entries). Cited in *Copies of the Official Papers sent from India touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore*, 1859, pp. 43-44.

I beg to submit to my colleagues a copy of the letter which I intimated to them my intention of writing to General Cullen, the Resident at Travancore :—

Dear Sir,

Having now perused the whole of the correspondence relating to Travancore, I am able to write to you with confidence.

The recent proceedings in reference to certain females of the Shanar class which have attracted so much attention, both in England and in India, require no comment from me. I have seldom met with a case in which not only truth and justice but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilized world would cry shame upon us if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If anything could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and indelicate kind is attempted to be justified by a Royal proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's India subjects liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with

the just right of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against Her own sex of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by Her.

I, however, observe with pleasure, that in his letter to you, dated the 12th of February last, Madava Rao, the Dewan of Travancore, wrote to you as follows :—' The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances, and satisfy parties as far as it may be possible to do so,' from which I infer that his Highness the Maha Raja is sensible that the conduct of a portion of his subjects towards the Shanar women belongs to an age of barbarism utterly unsuited to the present advanced stage of civilization in this country.

By the order of this Government, dated the 27th of January last, you were instructed to be careful to give no countenance to the idea that the British Government, of which you are the representative, ' recognise any exclusive distinctions, or the right of any set of men to prevent others from following, in all matters of social or domestic life, such course as they may see fit, provided it be not repugnant to public decency and morals. It will be your duty to impress these views on his Highness the Raja, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those contained in the circular order of May 1814, or in the Proclamation of the 3rd February 1829, are unsuited to the present age, and unworthy of an enlightened prince, and that he is not to look for the support of the British Government in any attempts to maintain them, as respects any class of his subjects '.

And by the further order of this Government, of the 12th March last, you were informed that ' the Government will hope to learn at an early date what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last paragraph of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 27th January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with his Highness the Raja in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government, in the affairs of Travancore, is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government, and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration in a more decided manner than they would be at liberty to adopt if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent State.'

Since that time numerous petitions have been presented to Government by the inhabitants of Travancore, complaining for the ill-usage and indignities to which the Shanar women are exposed, all of which have been referred to you for an early report of what you have done in these cases with reference to the orders of this Government of the 27th January 1859.

It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Maha Raja in his ancient dominions, and I know what is due to yourself as an old and deserving officer of this Government ; but the case now before me is one in which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will without further delay yield obedience to the repeated orders which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolutions of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th of March last, and what the Maha Raja has done in consequence.

I remain, &c.
(sd.) C. E. Trevelyan.

To

The Lieut.-General Cullen,
Resident of Travancore and Cochin.

114. MEMORIAL TO THE POPE BY CATHOLICS OF MADRAS (1862 A.D.)

This memorial, dated 22nd March 1862, was submitted to Pope Pius IX by Catholics of Madras under the jurisdiction of the Padroado Bishop of St. Thome, Mylapore. It was an appeal on behalf of the rights of the Padroado and a rejection of the claims of the Propaganda. Cited in Jno. Godinho, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Orient* (1454-1860), pp. 180-193.

Beatissimo Padre,—We, the Catholics of the Diocese of St. Thome of Madras, with the most profound humility, confidence and love crave permission to approach the Sacred presence of Your Holiness the centre of Catholic unity, with this representation, and to express to Your Holiness, our sentiments of filial affection, our sincere acknowledgements and cordial thanks on account of the great and salutary benefits, with which Your Holiness condescended to favour us with the articles of the Concordata recently entered into between Your Holiness and His Most Faithful Majesty El-Rei of Portugal, as the Patron of the Churches of India, which now happily belong to the temporal dominion of our exalted Sovereign the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, under whose benign and liberal Government we have the happiness to live ...

The Vicars Apostolic, however, did not relax their efforts to secure exclusive dominion and power over the churches of the Padroado and their flock, and to seize their funds and properties, but the opposition they encountered everywhere eventually compelled them to appeal to the Sacred Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. They obtained and published here the Breve *Multa Praclare* dated 24th April 1838, in the name of Pope Gregory XVI ; declaring that the right of the Padroado of the Crown of Portugal was abolished over the churches in India, without the previous consent of the Royal Patron, as is required and laid down by various Pontiffs in several ancient Bulls ; that the various Episcopal Sees were suppressed, without consulting the Royal Patron or their Prelates, in violation of solemn assurances from so many Popes and against the ecclesiastical discipline and laws of the Church ; and finally investing Doctors O'Connor and St. Leger with supreme authority and dominion over all the Churches and parishes of the Bishopric of St. Thome, a possession they, for so long, so ardently desired.

In that Breve, two are the chief reasons alleged for this change. The first is the political change affecting these regions. Great Britain, being the present dominant power, will not permit the exercise of the right of the Padroado. It is necessary to show how groundless this objection is after so many years of British Dominion. We have already shown above that the Government by its declaration of February 1835, has clearly repudiated any unpleasant impression originating from their first Statement. .. The second reason alleged in the Breve is that ecclesiastical discipline, the morality of the laity and the Catholic Faith had generally deteriorated in these parts for want of pastors. Of what little importance this insinuation made by interested parties is, will be evident, from the following facts. The effective progress and prosperity of Catholic Faith, in several places, has been acknowledged by high authorities, such as Sir A. Johnson, a Protestant Judge of Ceylon, and by other respectable and disinterested persons, such as Rev. Brabant and even by Dr. O'Connor and Dr. Carew, soon after their arrival in India. On the contrary the evil deeds of the missionaries of the propaganda ; first the Capuchin Friars ; after them the Vicars Apostolic and their clergy, who undermined the foundations of religion and morality and not the want of pastors. ..

The Vicars Apostolic and their missionaries denounced the sacred offices exercised by the Prelates and their clergy. They ridiculed them. They spoke in contempt of their churches, of their altars and of their sacred objects of respect and veneration. They anathematised the clergy, criticising their national qualities. They cast aspersions on private character. They criticised their talents and abilities. All these affronts and insults had only one object

in view, namely of intimidating the timid and of attracting to themselves the ignorant and the fickle. With praises for their boldness in forsaking their old pastors they incited them to violent acts to support their impious cause. With the help and co-operation of these seceders, perverting others by gifts of money, the Vicars Apostolic and their missionaries, forcibly entered the churches in the dead of night, thus took possession of them. . .

The Vicars Apostolic most stubbornly objected to the Concordata, for it clearly declared all their representations to be false, and also declared their expulsion from the places usurped by them. The Concordata totally ignores the Breve *Multa Praclare*. It does not even allude to it in the various articles. On the contrary, the Concordata, in its first and second articles, acknowledges the right of the Patron over the churches in India, and also over the Bishoprics suppressed or usurped. It does not contain a single clause from which it can be inferred that the Royal Patron, or the Metropolitan of Goa or the Prelates or clergy who acted according to the instructions, are schismatics and separated from the unity of the Catholic Church, or do not possess any authority or Jurisdiction, as the Vicars Apostolic have always asserted, without the sanction of any other authority than their own. In the absence of any direct resolution, in which the Chief of the Church, on any occasion, or at any time, declared them to be schismatics, and separated from the unity of the Church. If they were really so, it should, at least, appear in a document which has for its special aim the end of all dispute and misunderstanding. . .

It is so long since the Concordata was ratified, that the Vicars Apostolic have reduced the Church in India to a theatre of religious dissensions to the great prejudice of our Holy Religion, and to the peace and tranquility of the Faithful, so much so that many doubt of the paternal solicitude of Your Holiness for the Church in India. If all what we have suffered for such a long time, were not sufficient reasons we pray that the interests of religion, the propagation of the Catholic Faith and the conversion of the pagans and infidels, which have been set back for so long, will move you to put an end to this state of affairs. We most humbly beseech Your Holiness that without further delay in diplomatic negotiation, to put in practical execution of the Concordata, so that India may enjoy the benefits of its excellent and healthy provisions.

With the same expectation we, as subjects of Queen Victoria, have forwarded a petition to the Secretary of State for India, that the British Government may give their full support to the execution of the Concordata, as the best means to promote and to ensure the prosperity of the Catholic population of this country. A copy of that petition, as well as another which before this we had sent to the

Governor of Madras, under the date of 25th April last, exposing the false allegations in the petitions sent to Your Holiness and to the Secretary of State for India by the followers of the Vicar Apostolic of Madras, are enclosed herewith for the information of Your Holiness. . .

115. MEMORIAL OF THE CATHOLICS OF MADRAS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL, 1862 A.D.

This memorial sent by the Catholics of Madras to the King of Portugal represents the continuing efforts of the Padroado missionaries and Christians loyal to them to have the terms of the Concordat between the King of Portugal and the Pope implimented in their favour. This implies filling vacant positions and strengthening institutions under the Padroado ; thus refuting the charge levelled by the Propaganda that the Portuguese Crown was not fulfilling its responsibilities. Cited in Jno. Godinho, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Orient* (1454-1860), pp. 194-196.

To His Most Faithful Majesty Dom Luis, King of Portugal and Algarves and the Royal Patron of the Church in the Orient.

Sire,—We the undersigned Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city of Madras, and the humble subjects of our noble Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, crave permission to place this representation before Your Most Faithful Majesty. With a profound sense of gratitude for having by the sacrifice of much money and blood of your subjects introduced the Catholic Faith in these regions, and equally, for the continuous aid and protection given to our Holy Religion up to this date, we offer our sincere and cordial acknowledgements as also for the benefit secured to us in the terms of the Concordata, recently adjusted between Your Majesty and the Holy See with the pious intention to promote the interest of religion and the well-being of the Catholic Church ; and also to remedy the evil from which the Indian Churches have been suffering for the last 27 years ; and thus to restore to us the peace and tranquility, of which we have been deprived by the ministers of the Sanctuary.

Born under British dominion and enjoying all the privileges of British subjects, we are bound by inseparable ties, to the British nation, and as persons instructed in our Holy Faith, to give Caesar what is his, and to God what is His, neither the difference in creed, nor any other influence swerves us from the respect ,obedience and fidelity which we owe to our August Sovereign, Queen Victoria. As however, for successive centuries, we have been under the ecclesiastical discipline of the Churches, and under the spiritual guidance of the prelates of His Most Faithful Majesty, we shall humbly attend and follow the voice of those Pastors in spiritual matters.

Your Majesty is no doubt well informed of the disorganised state of the Roman Catholic Society and for the disorders introduced in these regions by the missionaries of the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide. It is also obvious that the long and protracted vacancies of the Sees of India have given occasion for the perpetuation of these disorders. Convinced of the necessity to fill up these vacancies, and more adequately to provide for the necessities of religion, the Royal predecessor of Your Majesty (Dom Pedro V) stipulated a new Concordata, but although it was ratified on the 20th September 1859, His Majesty had not the happiness of seeing it put into execution in India. We have no definite news, if this delay is due to the Government of Your Majesty or to the Holy See of Rome. Whatever may be the cause, or the motives of this delay, we most respectfully bring to the notice of Your Majesty the afflictions and miseries we are suffering in the present state of affairs. We supplicate Your Majesty, that in consultation with His Holiness, to put into execution the new Concordata, to nominate Prelates to the vacant Sees, especially to those where we are subjects, and to send missionaries capable of attending to the spiritual needs of the different races composing the Roman Catholic Community in India.

Howsoever excellent the provisions of the Concordata, yet we are afraid that the interests of the religion will suffer, if the churches in India have always to be dependent on Europe for the supply of missionaries, who have to be sent at great cost and who, after their arrival have to learn the Indian vernaculars and study the customs and habits of the country, before they can render any service. Without local colleges and seminaries this vast region will always be dependent for missionaries on the little territory of Goa. Nor in any other manner, can the various needs of India be satisfied, if we have at heart the interest of religion, the propagation of the Catholic Faith and the conversion of the pagans. Apart from the economy of this plan, the Catholic population of India will always be grateful to Your Majesty for planting such institutions in this soil. We, however, submit to the benign consideration of Your Majesty the necessity of establishing, as soon as possible, a college in this See of St. Thome, wherein instruction may be imparted in arts and sciences, in theology and canon law, with the object of finding among many, some who may enter the sacred orders. Those who have no vocation for the ministerial office, will be better qualified to serve the churches and the State. The funds available in Madras are too little for such an enterprise. The Catholics are just recovering from their civil and religious inhabilities, and have hardly enough for the sustenance of life. However they will gladly contribute what they can. But as the advantages from such an institution will be more to the benefit of the British State, and of British subjects, we are quite hopeful that if Your Majesty enters

into negotiations with the illustrious and liberal British government, the latter will contribute handsomely, as is their practice in all matters of education. It solely depends on Your Most Faithful Majesty to take the initiative to establish the desired institution.

We most respectfully crave permission to send Your Majesty the petition of our thanks to His Holiness, in which we have declared the reasons why the Concordata be put in force, and we request Your Majesty to forward it to the Holy Pontiff through your ambassador at Rome.

We also request permission to enciose for the information of Your Majesty a copy of representation we have sent to the Secretary of State for India, of His Britannic Majesty, soliciting protection and recognition by the British Crown of the Concordata.

In conclusion we take the liberty to place before Your Majesty our sincere wishes for the long life of Your Majesty, and that the reign of Your Majesty be of peace and prosperity, and that the piety and munificence of the Portuguese Crown in the cause of religion, and that of the Church in India, may increase.

With all respect and veneration due to the Royal Person of Your Majesty we have the honour to sign, etc.

116. PAPERS FROM THE PUNJAB MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, LAHORE (1862-63 A.D.)

The subjects discussed, and the resolutions passed at the various local, regional and national missionary conferences of the 19th century were usually similar. Occasionally, as in the case of the Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore between 26th December, 1862, and 2nd January, 1863, statements of special interest, especially when viewed in retrospect, were made. The materials included here were personal views expressed by the missionaries named. In some of them, particularly the statements made by McLeod, French, Newton and Barton, one finds an appeal for indigenisation that, within the context of the age, is most remarkable—including an appeal for an indigenous, united Indian church. *Report of the Punjab Missionary Conference Held at Lahore*, pp. 3-11, 31 ff., 128-138, 145-146., 300-306., 308-309.

John Newton on Preaching to the Heathen

On the manward side of conversion, there are, in preaching, many elements of success.

1. Every missionary should strive, after the example of Paul, to be all things to all men ; giving no unnecessary offence to their prejudices ; but seeking, by a conciliatory mode of address, by a

gentle and pleasing deportment, and by deeds of personal kindness on all suitable occasions, to gain and keep their confidence and esteem.

2. Preaching to the heathen should be attempted at seasonable times and places : for example, when, not being busily occupied with their worldly avocations, or their devotions, they have leisure to hear ; and, so far as possible, when they are in serious moods of mind ; never when they are angry or disposed to mock. Those times and places, too, should be selected in which there is the least fear of interruption. In this respect, open chapels, situated in quiet thoroughfares, which the heathen can easily be induced to enter, have a great advantage over other places.

3. Preaching should be clear and intelligible ...

C. W. Forman on Schools

The fact that schools for the education of heathen youth are absorbing much of the energy of missionaries, and of their best educated assistants, and are, at the same time, yielding but little fruit in the way of actual conversions, renders it important to inquire, how these institutions can be rendered more efficient auxiliaries to the work of conversion.

In reply to the assertion, that few converts have been made by our Mission Schools, it may be said indeed, that efforts made in other directions, e.g. the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, have been as unsuccessful in this respect, and more so in others ; that we should not estimate the results of our work from the number of baptisms, and that schools are doing a great preparatory work. All this is doubtless true ; but we cannot be satisfied with any amount of mere civilization, enlightenment, or general elevation of character, united with the profoundest respect for Christianity. Our great object is the conversion of India ; and, as little success has heretofore attended our efforts to make converts by means of schools, the inquiry forces itself on us, ' What more can be done ? ' We are now to seek an answer to this question and,

I. *We must keep more steadily in view the conversion of our pupils and the fitting of them for extending still further the work of conversion, as the great end at which we are to aim.* The desire to see our pupils make progress in secular knowledge, and compare favourably with those of other schools, the interest we ourselves feel in science, literature, etc., and the desire to see the number of our pupils increase, will all combine to tempt us to neglect this one grand object for which our schools were established.

It is not uncommon fear, that, if great prominence be given to purely religious studies, it will tend to reduce the number of our pupils. My own experience convinces me, that this fear is almost or quite groundless, and confirms the opinion, so often expressed by the friends of Christian education, that the people are more afraid of ' groundbones ', than of the Bible. There should be no attempt to conceal the truth, that our schools were established to make converts. Such an attempt will only result in our sincerity being called in question. When the Government School was opened in Lahore, it was rumoured that the Mission School, having failed in its open efforts to make Christians, Government had resolved to try clandestine means. Let the education given in our schools, be thoroughly, manifestly Christian, and let every thing else be subordinate and contributory to this ...

VI. *Prayer for the conversion of the children.* However thoroughly they may be instructed in the Bible, and however amiable their dispositions may be, without converting grace they cannot be saved. Christ must be formed in them. This is a divine work, and we should be much engaged in intercessory prayer on their behalf. And I would, in conclusion, ask every one present, who knows the value of prayer, to pray earnestly every day, to the God of all grace, that he would grant his Holy Spirit to the thousands of children, who are gathered into Christian schools throughout the length and breadth of the land ; that it may again be said, ' Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou has perfected praise.'

D. F. McLeod on the Native Pastorate

First then, as regards the importance of a Native Pastorate, I would observe, that there is, perhaps, no people more wont, from habit and training, to pay deference to their spiritual guides, than the populations of this country. The Hindoo is in some sense wholly subservient to, and under the control of, his Guru ; and the Mohamedan, though less pliant or docile, is, as a rule, more under the influence of his Mulla, than of any other individual. This may be the result of superstition on the one hand, and of fanaticism, on the other ; but the fact remains the same. It may be productive of many and great evils, and be attributable to the wiles of a crafty priesthood ; but it shews, nevertheless, a consciousness of need for some one to guide and instruct, in regard to things unseen ;—and, at the same time, involves a practical admission and conviction, that all which concerns the spirit of man is of the utmost importance,—a conviction, which it should be practicable to turn to great account. It has been frequently remarked, that the people of the East are eminently a devotional people; and however grievous the forms their devotion may assume, however largely it may be constrained result of conventional influences, I yet believe the statement to be, in the above sense, perfectly true ...

I would not be understood to mean, that persons of this class could be relied on, without the most searching examination and careful trial. But I do think, that the real aims of many amongst them, are not generally so fully understood as they might be, with advantage ; and that amongst them are to be found very many earnest spirits, that have shaken off most of the trammels, by which their countrymen are bound ; and who, if taught to seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit, would be likely to take a lead amongst our Native converts. We shall doubtless find, amongst their leaders, a great tendency to spiritual pride ; but all this must give way before true conversion ; and the point for us to determine, under the Spirit's teaching, is, whether this conversion is that kind, which will be effectual to the pulling down of strongholds. An example of what I have stated above, is to be found in the Karta Bhojas of Krishnaggar.

A speaker in this assembly has stated, that he had himself unexpectedly met with a sect, who acknowledged and used the Bible as their book of devotion ; and as I am thoroughly convinced that there are scattered throughout Hindoostan, many such sects of separatists, similarly disposed, I have thought it well here to draw prominent attention to them. I have often been inclined to think, that these sects, scattered through the plains, and the aboriginal races, scattered through the hills, may be intended by the Almighty as nuclei, round which it will be for us to build up a really indigenous evangelization ; and until very lately, I believe neither of these classes has received the attention which both seem to me to deserve at our hands . . .

A different standard of attainment will doubtless be required for different classes, and different descriptions of congregations ; but one principle I would strongly advocate, as equally applying to all, viz., that the standard we aim at, be of an indigenous character : or we shall be apt to produce what has been elsewhere termed, 'a race of hybrids.' For the bulk of our congregations, at the present stage of India's evangelization, I apprehend that a very humble standard will be not only sufficient, but preferable. But where a higher one is required —for the pastor of a more cultivated congregation, I would say—let this be supplied, not, at present, by establishing a Training Institution of a higher kind, but by selecting such individuals from amongst our pastors, or those preparing to be pastors, as evince a special fitness for higher training. Amongst them, I doubt not, there will be found men, whose earnest desire to become full acquainted with the Scriptures at their fountain head, will urge them to acquire a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew ; and as far as we may have the means at command. But I think, at the same time, that this should only be done after they have undergone what I may call an indigenous training, and have

been thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures, and some branches at least of useful knowledge, in the vernacular.

Fifthly.—It only remains for me to remark, on the most judicious way of providing for the support of pastors. It was a profound remark of Bishop Butler, that 'passive impressions, often repeated, gradually lose all their force.' And there can be no doubt that action, of some kind, is indispensable to sustained and progressive vitality. Next to personal participation in the work of the Church, there is probably no form of action so suitable for a congregation, and so adapted for continuous and general application, as contributing towards the support of the pastor; and towards the cost of the efforts in which he may be engaged, or interested, for the carrying on the work of the Lord,—whether amongst themselves, or amongst others. It serves as a test of their sincerity and zeal; and, at the same time, acts as a stimulus to continued and increasing exertion. It has been found, that even children of the ragged schools begin to take an interest in Mission work, when once persuaded to contribute to it,—as this gives them (to use their own expression) 'a share in concern.' And I believe, that in churches gathered from amongst the heathen, an increase of spirituality has always occurred, when they have undertaken to support their own pastors. This has eminently been the case, it is said, of late years, in Sierra Leone, the Bishop of which place remarks: 'If we expect to see the Gospel and the love of God filling the hearts of people, we must endeavour, on the spot, to establish a self-supporting Native Ministry.'

T. V. French on Native Pastorate

... The plan suggested seems, it is true, a laborious one: but how little can any of us tell, brethren beloved in the Lord, but that one candidate, if it be so, on whom we spent such toil, for whose sake we were ever storing up patiently fresh stores of heavenly wisdom, may become, long after we are passed away, a centre of Christian light and action to myriads yet unborn; at whose mouth they may seek the law, as the messenger of the Lord of Hosts! Oh, if it be, to present appearance, a small and unremunerative effort, there is no truer and deeper work than that anywhere; none more essentially Apostolic! Let no feared complication of relations between the Native and European labourer, for a moment repress our ardour, in preparing our best converts to take the foremost places; that the Foreign Mission may set ever in its forefront that which (ere its own end is answered) must succeed and supplant it—the home-rooted and self-reliant church! I quite believe that there is a growing readiness amongst us, to see Natives occupying our places, as pastors of congregations, and largely sharing our influence over the Native flocks. In times gone by—times from which we are but barely emerging, there was ill-concealed jealousy of admitting

the Native to a level with the European and American Missionary. It was felt hard to raise him to a parallel platform with ourselves. There was too much of the *hakim* feeling—an unwillingness to make a breach into the privileged circle—to recognize the whole truth, with its consequences, that ' in Jesus Christ, there is neither Jew nor Greek.' Such a feeling, whereby the foreign missionary is tempted to set himself on a pedestal of lofty isolation, is not only destructive of the very essence of missionary progress, but arise from misconceptions of the very rudiments of the Gospel. Partly from an improved feeling on this subject, self-sprung in our missions, and partly from strong influences brought to bear on us from the churches at home, we are prepared and pledged—I think I may say —to so our utmost, to put every practicable facility within reach of our advanced theological students and catechists ; and with honest good-will to help them to occupy a higher position in our churches ; —a position which, by increasing their own self-respect, will also tend to increase the self-respect of the members of their flocks ; who will count themselves honoured in their honour, and advanced in their advancement ; ' Epaphras—who is one of you.' Col. IV, The fact of being able to point to such an one in a congregation. whose exemplary course of service has raised him to distinction, eminently suggests and provokes to sustained progress heaven-wards, and Godwards.

John Newton on an Indian Catholic Church

But if Christians, however separated by outward circumstances, are really one,—one in the spirit of the inner man, in attachment to the Saviour, in the Father's everylasting love, and in the hope of glory,—why not come together, and make their oneness doubly manifest, by dwelling harmoniously within one ecclesiastical enclosure ? Why not appear to be what they are in reality ? Does not truth demand it ? Does not the honour of their common Lord demand it ? Would not Christian fellowship be promoted by it ? Would not the Church, as an agency for good in the world, gain strength by it ? Instead of the partizan cry, ' I am of Paul ! and I, of Apollos ! and I, of Cephas ! and I, of Christ ! ' how much more befitting—more lovely—more God-honouring, and Christ-glorifying, and Spirit-conciliating would be that manifest oneness and sympathy, among the followers of Jesus, which must constrain the world to say— ' Behold, how these Christians love one another ! ' . .

Of the desirableness, therefore, of external union among Christians, there seems no reason whatever to doubt. But is there any ground for hope in relation to it ? Can an organic union of the different sects, into which the visible Church is now divided, be deemed at all feasible ? No doubt there are difficulties : still, where a desire for union prevails, much may be done towards effecting it. . .

But what should be the plan of union? Should it be a conformity of all, to the faith and usages of some one of the churches now existing here? Should we seek to reproduce the Episcopal Church of England, on Indian soil—and labour to make it the Church of India? Should we expect to make all India, Presbyterian? or Baptist? or Methodist?—like the churches thus named in the West! This certainly is not the way to bring about the union here contemplated. This kind of uniformity would fail here, as surely and as signally, as it did in England, in the days of Charles the Second. No proposition, so utterly one-sided, could be entertained for a moment. Whither, then, can the eye turn with hope? What more feasible plan can be found?...

There would be far more hope from a return to first principles; and a reconstruction, on the simple basis of the Bible.

The bond of union among the Apostolic Churches was no elaborated creed, embracing thirty-three Articles. It consisted of a common faith in the one living God; and in Jesus Christ, as the Incarnate Son of God; who, by his atoning sacrifice, and his living power, had become the author of eternal salvation to all that believe; and who, in common with the Father and the Holy Ghost, was to be worshipped and glorified: and beyond this, it had an eye to that personal sanctity, wrought by the Spirit of grace, which was the evidence of true discipleship, and an essential element of Christian communion. These, and a few other simple truths, made up the common faith of all the Apostolic Churches. The New Testament is believed not to contain a single hint of exclusion from church membership, or from a part in the ministry, on account of the holding of such views of doctrine, or church polity, as distinguish the various churches of what is now called Evangelical Christendom. Why not construct the Indian Church on this Apostolic model? and admit to its fellowship all, who, being baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, evince, by the tenor of their lives, that their faith is sincere? Why not agree to receive to the outward communion of saints, all who give evidence of being already, through the Spirit, in fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ? Why narrow the limits of the visible Church, more than Christ partically narrows those of the Church invisible? And why exclude from the ministry any, who have been evidently called by the Spirit to that office—even though in some things they 'follow not with us?' By what authority shall we reject any, whom the Lord has himself accepted?—and who gave us that authority? Let the visible Church of India, then, be organized on a broad basis,—making it co-incident, as nearly as possible, with that invisible Church, which it is intended to represent. In that case, the only admissible creed, would be something like the articles of agreement adopted by the Evangelical Alliance...

Meanwhile, the way might be prepared for a future union,—on some basis or other,—if pains were taken, by missionaries of different Societies, to foster a liberal and fraternal spirit among their Native brethren. In aid of this object, a formal arrangement might be made in reference to the following particulars : (1) Joint itinerancies by the members of different missions—both missionaries and catechists : (2) Mutual visitations, and an occasional occupancy of each other's pulpits : (3) Union prayer-meetings, at all practicable points, for Native Christians as well as missionaries : (4) Frequent intercommunion at the Lord's Table, by missionaries, native pastors, and church members : (5) Common religious periodicals, free from all sectarian partialities : (6) Advisory Councils, or Conferences, made up of foreign missionaries, native evangelists, and native pastors, to meet periodically, at intervals of five years—more or less.

J. Barton on an Indian Church

I trust that none of us here today, will need the caution which our chairman has addressed to us ; for whatever may have been our sentiments previously, as to the possibility of dropping sectarian differences out of sight, while engaged in conference on our missionary work, there can, I think, be but one feeling prevalent amongst us now ;—we must feel that our work and our object is one,—not to win adherents to one particular set of religious opinions, but to win souls from sin and Satan for Christ.

I do not know how far I represent the sentiments of my missionary brethren of the Church of England, but for my own part, I cannot but concur, most heartily, in the sentiments expressed by our respected and venerable friend, Mr. Newton, as to the probable future of the Indian Church. It is my own firm conviction — and I may add, my earnest hope ; and in this opinion, I know I do not stand alone—that the future Church of India will be a church of its own type ;—not exclusively an Episcopally constituted National Church, such as that of our own land ; nor, on the other hand, a Presbyterian, or a congregational church ; but one which shall combine, in some measure, what is good in each of these ; while, at the same time, it will be freed from things which do not properly belong to the church as such, but have been the after-growth of ages—the result, in a great measure, of political or national changes.

Much as I love my own church—of England, and much as I admire and value her incomparable liturgy, I cannot but feel, that, in some respects, it does not adapt itself easily, in its thoroughly European, Saxon form, to the wants of the Oriental mind. There are some parts of our liturgy, which I think many missionaries must feel are not adapted, altogether, to an infant Native Church ; while, on the other hand, I have been often made to feel how much they

do need a liturgy of some kind. Then again, the status to be given to our native pastors, is a difficulty which each year waxes greater than ever. So long as the power of ordination is vested solely in the head of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of this land, and the native pastor becomes, to some extent, identified with European missionaries and clergymen, there must always be a danger, lest ordination should diminish, rather than increase his influence and usefulness amongst his countrymen ; and a really worthy and useful fellow-labourer becomes sadly puffed up with pride and self-importance, by finding himself suddenly raised to such a position. Doubtless, this danger might be to a great extent obviated, were ordination conferred on our native pastors in our mission churches, —and still better, in the presence of their own congregations ; but it is the fact of there being such danger at all—as illustrating the want of adaptation of a European and national system, to an Oriental and missionary church,—to which I desire to call your attention now.

If this is so,—and if it is really our object—not, as I remarked just now, to magnify ourselves, or to gain mere party adherents, but to bring glory to our Saviour, and win souls for Him, then surely we must all try, quietly and unobtrusively, to bring about such a state of things as Mr. Newton has sketched in his essay: and, instead of reproducing our own errors, or our own failings, in the Native Church of India, we shall seek to give it strength, and stability, and unity,—by sinking all minor considerations in the one great object of building it on the one foundation, even Christ : 'in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord.'

117. ECUMENICAL PROBLEMS REGARDING BURIAL GROUNDS (1866 A.D.)

One of the ecumenical problems often faced during the 19th century concerned the question of the burial of Christians of other denominations in Anglican cemetaries. The following is part of a letter written from Nowgong, Assam, by the American Baptist missionary Miles Bronson, describing the problem and arrangements that had been made to circumvent it by Bishop Cotton. Cited in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, (1867), pp. 46-47.

That good, devoted man of God, bishop Cotton, of Calcutta, has just left us. His visit has been a pleasant one. The Episcopal ceremony of consecrating the public burial ground here being about to take place, I wrote him, stating that the burial ground had from the first been open to Christians of all denominations, and that, in consequence, we had children, missionary associates and friends buried there ; and, in case the act of consecration would in future debar us from the right of sepulture there, in behalf of the mission

and others out of the communion of the Church of England, I respectfully submitted the question of the propriety of a portion of the ground being left unconsecrated. To which he replied, that ' the effect of consecrating a cemetery is that no service except that of the Church of England can be performed there, and therefore I never consecrate any ground without leaving a portion unconsecrated for the burial of persons with other services than ours. In fact the rules of government, to whom as a general thing the burial grounds belong, as property, require this. In the Nowgong cemetery we have left unconsecrated for your use, and that of other Christians not belonging to the English church, the whole of the eastern portion of the ground, to be hereafter bounded by a path meeting from the third buttress in the north wall to the third buttress in the south wall, and within that space you will have the full right of burying with your own services. This includes the graves you mention, and will, I hope, be a satisfactory arrangement. Believe me, yours very sincerely, Signed " G. E. Calcutta ".'

So I trust that we shall not in future have any of those heart-rending scenes, sometimes witnessed in India, connected with consecrated burial grounds. Still, I cannot help wishing that these lines of separation did not enter the resting place of the dead.

There being no other place for worship, we gladly gave up our humble chapel and joined in the service. But out here none of your missionaries can ever be invited into an Episcopal pulpit. It looks bad to the heathen and our native Christians. I rejoice to hear that in some of the Episcopal Churches in America a more Catholic spirit is beginning to be manifested ; and I pray that it may extend to Christians of all denominations, especially to the whole of ' the holy Catholic Church.' I verily believe that better days are coming, when the hearts of all Christians shall run together, and all minor badges and differences be forgotten, as the church universal rallies around the banner of the cross.

118. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RAJASIMLA CHURCH (1867 A. D.)

For more than thirty years the American Baptist mission had worked with only limited success on the plains of Assam, The establishment of the church at Rajasimla, the first of that mission among a hills tribe, led to an increasing concentration upon missionary work in the hills. The account of that event by the missionary, Miles Bronson, reveals the policies adopted by the mission in that work and the self-reliance of the tribal churches from the beginning. Bronson's letter, dated April 17, 1867, is cited in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, (1867), pp. 445-447.

During my whole missionary life I have never seen anything so wonderful as the work now going on among the Garos. Those

two Garo assistants, Omed and Ramkhe, have worked quietly and faithfully on amid ridicule, reproach, and even threats of personal violence, and ' have proved themselves to be reliable, trustworthy, and faithful men,' as I took them to be when I baptized them at Gowahati. Let me give in brief the account of my tour...

The next morning, the 13th (April), we set out for Omed's village in Monja Masuri, near Ran Mari, afterwards called Raj Simla. This is a new village, is at the foot of the hills—it was established by Omed,—a lovely spot, with a fine stream of water close at hand, with plenty of land suitable for cultivation. A crowd was waiting to receive us. We found the village clean, the houses, about forty, new and orderly arranged. The largest and best house in the village is a place of Christian worship recently built by themselves, which is every Sabbath crowded with listeners. A house, very clean, was placed at my disposal, so that although I had a small tent, I never pitched it. As soon as I could, I went to the chapel, which I found crowded with people waiting to hear from me the word of God. I spoke to them as simply as possible in Assamese, which was understood by some, the three assistants interpreting the same to the hill people, who understand only the Garo language. It was deeply affecting to me to witness their fixed attention and deep interest as I spoke to them of Christ and his love to poor sinners, and that He died to save even poor Garos. O, it is easy work to preach Christ under such circumstances ! It was soon evident that the story of the cross was familiar to them. Omed has made it the burden of his message to his countrymen, and their hearts have begun to melt under its mighty power. At last I put the question, How many of you love this Saviour and abandoning all your heathen worship and practices, worship Him alone ? Twenty-six, all residents of this village, arose. I closely questioned them as to their motives explaining to them what it might cost them to become Christians—ridicule, reproach, opposition, perhaps even death. They replied, ' Yes, we have thought this all over; we expect opposition ; we have decided.' It appears that some of them have had to leave their friends on account of opposition, and have come down from the mountains and joined this Christian village. These all desired to become Christ's disciples and to be baptized. The native assistants, who have for months been watching for their conversion, speak of their changed conduct, particularly in their abandonment of their old rites of worship, and in the desire of all intoxicating drinks, which has cost some of them a great struggle. They were therefore received as candidates for Christian baptism ...

Sunday, (14th,) a day of days,—early morning worship ; also at ten o'clock ; after which we repaired to the beautiful stream, dammed up for the purpose, where I baptized, in the name of the

sacred Trinity, twenty-six Garos, men and women. A crowd of wild, savage-looking people stood on the bank ; but all were as quiet, serious and respectful as though accustomed to such scenes. Among this first ingathering of Garos into the fold of Christ were the aged, middle-aged and youth ...

Sunday evening our house of prayer was again crowded. After preaching, I formed the disciples into a church. I explained to them that in the apostles' days they were wont to form the disciples into churches, and to appoint one of their number as pastor. Whom of the three native assistants, would they choose as their pastor and preacher, to baptize, bury their dead, perform their marriages according to the Christian custom ? They unanimously chose Omed, from whose lips they received the gospel. I then and there, in the presence of all, laid hands on him, and told him to range the hills, to preach, baptize, to do the work of a Christian pastor, and ' to be faithful unto death.' Now this is very un-episcopal ; but I feel that it is no time to stand on human ceremonies and formalities in the work of God. The Garos have been too long neglected. They are perishing in darkness. They are just opening their eyes to see and feel this. A good, faithful, cautious native like Omed can do more than a dozen missionaries just now. There are twenty other Garos, absent just now, who desire baptism. I cannot stay among them. It is necessary that their preacher and guide should be empowered to preach, baptize, marry, and to bury their dead. And it is very good for them to feel some responsibility in the outset. Let those who will contend for routine and forms. My one work shall be to bring the perishing to Christ, and to make the native churches independent of foreign teachers as fast as possible. It is in this way only that Christianity will take root and grow in this country. I am content to walk as closely as I can by the example of Christ and his apostles, as recorded in the New Testament.

(Monday,) 15.—Gave orders to start early for Damra. Went into the chapel to say a few words, when Omed mentioned to me that ten more in the village were unwilling that I should leave without numbering them among Christ's disciples,—one of the number, weeping like a child, and saying something in Garo. I found, on inquiry, that he was appealing to the native assistants, that although he had said little, they were witnesses that when his life was threatened, because he cut a few bamboos on a mountain where the heathen sacrificed, and had to flee to save his life, yet he did not turn back. He detested heathen practices, and why could not he profess Christ by baptism with others ? His whole body was shaking with emotion, and many seeing him were weeping in sympathy.

I saw I had more work to do. I called in the church and received ten others. I baptized alternately with Omed, thus introducing

him at once into the work for which he has been set apart. This showed the Garos that baptism, by his hand or mine, was the same. He used the baptismal formula in Garo, while I used the Assamese. Thus in one village is a church of forty native Christians, including the assistants. In all this I confess I am myself astonished and rebuked for my want of faith...

And now follows, as a natural result, a desire to learn. I told them to consult together and let me know whether they wanted a school in their village, and how many would send their children if I provided a teacher.

After consultation, a class of seventeen Garos, young men, stood before me—an interesting class that I would like to teach myself ; also a class of thirteen small boys, from five to ten years of age, and a class of Garo girls, from five to thirteen years of age. ' But do you want your girls taught ? ' I inquired. ' Yes, the girls as well as the boys.' I appointed Tokira, one of the newly baptized, who is a good scholar, to be their teacher. I give him a salary of ten rupees per month.

Thus is our second Garo school formed at the request of the people. Here is the working out of my idea of the true missionary policy. When practicable, first work through faithful native labourers. Bring them under the power of the gospel and they will begin themselves to call for missionaries, books and teachers. There is a constant communication between these Christians and the mountaineers ; in fact, some of them are from the mountains ; and the gospel will work its way. I stayed among them only three days, just to encourage the native assistants and to satisfy myself that things were being properly conducted. Had I remained longer, or given them too much aid, they would perhaps have begun to lean on the missionary instead of feeling that they themselves must bear the responsibility.

And now that God has so unexpectedly brought me into this field, I wish to acknowledge his hand and move at his bidding. When I knew of no one that was raising his finger to help the Garos, God put it into the hearts of Omed and Ramkhe to come and beg to be sent to teach their countrymen. I saw their earnestness. I saw God's hand in it ; and although I had no funds, I dared not say no. I sent them.

119. OMED'S CONVERSION : BEGINNING OF BAPTIST WORK AMONG HILL TRIBES OF NORTH EAST INDIA (1868 A.D.)

Omed, a member of the Garo tribe of the present Meghalaya, was the first important convert among the Baptists from among the hills tribes of North-East India. A year following his baptism, which took place at Gauhati on 8th February, 1863, he became an evangelist among his own people. His successful work influenced the Mission to take up work in other hills areas—a work which led to the establishment of large Christian communities in that region. Similar work was done by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission among the Khasis and Mizos. The account of Omed's conversion, as told by Omed to the missionary William Ward, through the instrumentality of a tract and an Assamese Christian is cited in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. XLVIII (1868), p. 454. It is taken from a letter of Ward's dated June 28, 1868.

As we wended our way to another preaching place, Omed gave me an account of his conversion, as follows : He was a sepoy at Gowahati, where, according to the custom of the European officers in command of the regiment, one sepoy had always to stand guard by turns at the door of the officers' private dwelling. At that time the commanding officer rented one of our Mission bungalows or houses, at which Omed was called very frequently to stand guard. In one room of the bungalow was a book-shelf belonging to the mission, on which were numerous tracts and religious books in Assamese and Bengali. The guard were charged by the English officer to see that no harm came to these books ; no one was to touch them. But in cleaning the house, some leaves of tracts had been swept out upon the ground. To indulge his curiosity, Omed picked up and read a few pages on ' Error Refuted,' and his attention was immediately arrested, a strong conviction taking possession of his mind that what he had read was true. He then went to the native Christians for more tracts and books, and the more he read, the more deeply was he impressed. He visited the native Christians for instruction ; and, notwithstanding the abuse received from his comrades, he resolved to be a Christian. They endeavoured to the utmost to dissuade him. ' Omed,' said they, ' what is this you are doing ? Are you going to give up your caste and become a " Kistan " ? ' (a word of cutting contempt) ' don't do that ; it is a very bad religion.' But his mind was made up. Henceforth he consorted with the little company of despised Christians. Subsequently to this, br. Bronson wrote to me that Kandura, the leading native Christian at Gowahati, had informed him that there were two sepoys who had joined them and wished to be baptized, and accordingly he baptized them on his next visit.

120. KESHUB CHUNDER SEN ON AN INDIAN NATIONAL CHURCH (1869 A.D.)

Keshub Chunder Sen here proposes the fusion of the best elements of Hinduism and Islam, under Christian influence, into an Indian National Church which would be the indigenous form of a universal religion. From *Lectures in India*, pp. 155-160. Cited in William Theodore de Bary, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 621-624.

There are some among us who denounce Mahomedanism as wholly false, while others contend that Hinduism is altogether false. Such opinions are far from being correct ; they only indicate the spirit of sectarian antipathy. Do you think that millions of men would to this day attach themselves so devoutly to these systems of faith unless there was something really valuable and true in them ? This cannot be. There is, no doubt, in each of these creeds, much to excite ridicule, and perhaps indication—a large amount of superstition, prejudice, and even corruption. But I must emphatically say it is wrong to set down Hinduism or Mahomedanism as nothing but a mass of lies and abominations, and worthy of being trampled under foot. Prescribe and eliminate all that is false therein ; there remains a residue of truth and purity which you are bound to honour. You will find certain central truths in these systems, though surrounded by errors, which constitute their vitality, and which have preserved them for centuries in spite of opposition, and in which hundreds of good men always found the bread of life. It is these which form even now the pillars of Hinduism and Mahomedanism, and challenge universal admiration and respect. It is idle to suppose that such gigantic systems of faith will be swept away by the fervor of youthful excitement, or the violent fulminations of sectarian bigotry, so long as there is real power in them. All the onslaughts which are being levelled against them in this age of free inquiry and bold criticism will tend, not to destroy them, but to purify them and develop their true principles. The signs of the times already indicate this process of purification and development ; and I believe this process will gradually bring Hinduism and Mahomedanism, hitherto so hostile to each other, into closer union, till the two ultimately harmonise to form the future church of India.

The Hindu's notion of God is sublime. In the earliest Hindu scriptures God is represented as the Infinite Spirit dwelling in His own glory, and pervading all space, full of peace and joy. On the other hand, the Mahomedans describe their God as infinite in power, governing the universe with supreme authority as the Lord of all. Hence the principal feature of the religion of the Hindu is quiet contemplation, while that of the religion of the Mahom-

medan is constant excitement and active service. One lives in a state of quiet communion with his God of peace ; the other lives as a soldier, ever serving the Almighty Ruler, and crusading against evil. These are the primary elements of the two creeds, and if belonged together, would form a beautiful picture of true theology, which will be realized in the future church of this country. As the two creeds undergo development, their errors and differences will disappear, and they will harmoniously coalesce in their fundamental and vital principles. The future creed of India will be a composite faith, resulting from the union of the true and divine elements of Hinduism and Mahomedanism, and showing the profound devotion of the one and the heroic enthusiasm of the other. The future sons and daughters of this vast country will thus inherit precious legacies from Hinduism and Mahomedanism, and, while enjoying the blessings of the highest and sweetest communion with the God of love, will serve Him in the battle-field of life with fidelity to truth and unyielding opposition to untruth and sin. As regards Christianity and its relation to the future church of India, I have no doubt in my mind that it will exercise great influence on the growth and formation of that church. The spirit of Christianity has already pervaded the whole atmosphere of the Indian society, and we breathe, think, feel, and move in a Christian atmosphere. Native society is being roused, enlightened, and reformed under the influence of Christian education. If it is true that the future of a nation is determined by all the circumstances and agencies which today influence its nascent growth, surely the future church of this country will be the result of the purer elements of the leading creeds of the day, harmonized, developed, and shaped under the influence of Christianity.

But the future church of India must be thoroughly national ; it must be an essentially Indian church. The future religion of the world I have described will be the common religion of all nations, but in each nation it will have an indigenous growth, and assume a distinctive and peculiar character. All mankind will unit in a universal church ; at the same time, it will be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of each nation, and assume a national form. No country will borrow or mechanically imitate the religion of another country ; but from the depths of the life of each nation its future church will naturally grow up. And shall not India have its own national church ? Dr. Norman McLeod, in expounding last year, in this very hall, his ideas of the future church of this country, said emphatically that it would be a purely Indian church, and not a reproduction of any of the established churches of the west. Though I differ from that learned and liberal-minded gentleman in regard to the doctrine and tenets of that church as set forth by him, I fully agree with him that that church must have a strictly national growth and a national organization. Neither will Germany adopt the

religious life of China, nor will India which has religious traditions and associations, tastes and customs, peculiarly sacred and dear to her, just as every other country has, and it is idle to expect that she will forego these; nay, she cannot do so, as they are interwoven with her very life. In common with all other nations and communities, we shall embrace the theistic worship, creed, and gospel of the future church—we shall acknowledge and adore the Holy One, accept the love and service of God and man as our creed, and put our firm faith in God's almighty grace as the only means of our redemption. But we shall do all this in a strictly national and Indian style. We shall see that the future church is not thrust upon us, but that we independently and naturally grow into it ; that it does not come to us as a foreign plant, but that it strikes its roots deep in the national heart of India, draws its sap from our national resources, and develops itself with all the freshness and vigour of indigenous growth. One religion shall be acknowledged by all men, One God shall be worshipped throughout the length and breadth of the world ; the same spirit of faith and love shall pervade all hearts ; all nations shall dwell together in the Father's house—yet each shall have its own peculiar and free mode of action. There shall, in short, be unity of spirit, but diversity of forms ; one body, but different limbs ; one vast community, with members labouring, in different ways and according to their respective resources and peculiar tastes, to advance their common cause. Thus India shall sing the glory of the Supreme Lord with Indian voice and with Indian accompaniments, and so shall England and America, and the various races and tribes and nations of the world, with their own peculiar voice and music, sing His glory ; but all their different voices and peculiar modes of chanting shall comingle in one sweet and swelling chorus—one universal anthem proclaiming in solemn and stirring notes, in the world below and the heavens above, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man'. May the Merciful Lord hasten the advent of the true church, and establish peace and harmony among His children ! And as His name has been solemnly chanted tonight in this splendid hall by an immense concourse of worshippers of various races and tribes, so may all His children assemble in His holy mansions, and blending their million voices in one grand chorus, glorify Him time without end.

121. BEGINNINGS OF PERMANENT CHRISTIAN WORK AMONG THE NAGAS (1872 A.D.)

Godhula, an Assamese evangelist, was the first to undertake a successful Christian work among the Nagas. After an exploratory journey into the hills occupied by the Ao Nagas in the winter of 1871, he spent the winter months in the village of Dekha Haimong (Molungkimong) during the succeeding years. There he gathered the first Naga Christian congregation. In a letter dated October 31, 1872, Edward Clark, who was to become the pioneer foreign missionary among the Nagas, describes the new Naga work. Cited in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. LIII (1873), pp. 51-53.

But what shall be done about this Naga work? I had much fear that I should be troubled to keep Goodhula and his wife on the hills during the rains. But not so. I presume he would have been down by this date, but he could not persuade the Nagas to delay longer in building him a good house. So he remains to see about that ...

The Deka Harmong hill, where Goodhula and his wife have lived in good health during the last rainy season, is a low hill, 2,600 or 2,700 feet high, but has no high hills close by.

But other Nagas, talking the same language as the Deka Harmong, are on hills 4,000 or 5,000 feet high ; villages large and powerful. But these villages, if accessible at all by missions now, must be reached by their own paths, which are by the Detoi River ...

Let me give you a pretty literal translation of one of the last letters from Goodhula. 'In these days, the Naga people are somewhat anxious about religion. Those calling themselves Christians do so understandingly ; thus many people desire to meet me. At the present time there are 25 or 26 persons worshipping with me. The Naga people say that their forefathers, in worshipping evil spirits, found only the way to hell. We passed all our life-time in fear. That there is death we know ; besides this, that after death our spirits went below the earth in company with ghosts,—this we learned from the mouth of our forefathers and so knew. That there is a heaven we knew, but that man could go to heaven, this we never heard. But against the teachings of our forefathers a new doctrine has appeared ; how true ! how sweet ! When we hear this new story, water appears from the eye. Much sweeter than all arrack, and than all pig meat do we find this narrative. To continually hear this, our minds strongly desire. Goodhula's is our happy house. In his house we find rest from all anxiety and misery. How strange !

'But why were not the tidings of Christ brought hither in the days of our fathers? Surely they would have received them.'

Can there not be a missionary found to preach the gospel to such a people?

122. THE FIRST DECENNIAL CONFERENCE, ALLAHABAD (1872-1873 A.D.)

The first all-India missionary conference (at which it was decided to hold such conferences every ten years) was held at Allahabad from 26 December, 1872, to 1 January, 1873. 136 persons attended, among whom were 28 'native members'. Several papers were read by Indian members. The papers reproduced here are from the *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad*, 1872-73. 1. pp. 250-258; 2. pp. 141-144; 3. pp. 300-309; 4. pp. 337-349; 5. p. 485.

1. *W. T. Satthianadhan on the Native Church in South India*

Though the native Churches need to have an indigenous ministry, yet, under existing circumstances, I submit that they should not be left quite alone until they are in a position to govern themselves, for that would be like leaving a man to swim unaided before he has learnt how to support himself in the water. At the same time the native Churches should be gradually taught the great lessons of self-help, self-action and self-government. If this system be not already inaugurated, it should be commenced at once, otherwise Missionary Societies will learn, by sad experience, that this policy is not only unhealthy but very expensive also. The native Churches will entwine themselves, like parasites, about Missionary Societies and their increasing number will entail such an amount of expenditure as the Home Churches and Societies, with ever-increasing calls upon their liberality, will not be able to meet. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to train native Churches in habits of self-reliance, self-government and self-propagation.

The necessity of this principle was first recognized and fully enunciated by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in a document entitled, 'Outlines of Missionary Policy', which was embodied in a report of the Deputation to India, published in 1856. To quote one or two pages from this document, 'Separate action,' it says, 'will be for the advantage of all parties.'

1. '*The independence of the native element* will be sure. If Missionaries are members of the ecclesiastical body, they will exert, almost of necessity, a predominating influence.'

2. '*The power of self-government* will be best developed in this way. The native churches and ministers must have responsibilities

to bear before they can learn how to bear them. By this plan there will be less danger of embarrassment and disorder when the Missionaries pass on to " regions beyond ".'

The Rev. H. Venn, for about half a century the highly esteemed Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, in a letter to the Bishop of Jamaica, dated January 1867, advocates the same principle in the following terms : 'It may be said to have been only lately discovered in the Science of Missions that when the Missionary is of another and superior race than his converts, he must not attempt to be their pastor ; though they will be bound to him by personal attachment, and by a sense of the benefits received from him ; yet if he continues to act as their pastor, they will not form a vigorous native church, but, as a general rule, they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progressive attainments. The same congregation under competent native pastors, may become more self-reliant and their religion would be of a more manly, home character.'

The conclusion, then, is obvious, that the native churches, to become independent, must be brought as soon as possible to begin to think and act for themselves. A child will never stand and walk firmly, if always in leading strings. True, native churches, when left alone will make mistakes and even stumble, but from these errors and falls, they will learn to walk steadily, just as a man becomes expert in horsemanship after many accidents to life and limb. And the grace of God is able to support them and carry them finally through it all.

2. *R. Jardine on the Brahmo Somaj*

I wish now to make some remarks with reference to the position which the Christian Church should assume in looking at and judging of this movement (Brahmo Somaj). There is undoubtedly much in it which we can approve and for which we ought to be thankful. It appears to be to a very great extent the result of the influence of Christianity upon Hinduism. It may not be such a result as we could wish to see. But if it be such a result as God in his wisdom has seen fit to permit, are we not bound to recognize it as being in its time and place good ? It has taken a firm stand against idolatry, and in this we heartily wish it success. It has proclaimed the abolition of caste distinctions as one of its leading aims, and in this we may sincerely concur. It has recently directed its energies to the amelioration of certain social evils involved in Hindu marriage customs, and we have all rejoiced at the measure of success which has crowned its efforts. It has exerted all its influence against the tendency to materialism and positivism which in some places has prevailed, and every Christian may surely be

thankful there is in India a body of men exerting such an influence. It has proclaimed as its great principles the universal Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man, and we may heartily recognise the value of these principles since they occupy such a prominent position in the teachings of our own great Master. As far as concerns all these features in the character of this movement, I think that we are bound, as followers of our Master, to stretch out the right hand of fellowship and encouragement and wish it God speed.

But there is also unfortunately a dark and unfavourable view of it which we cannot but take, and to this let me now call your attention. The essential point of this lies in the relation between Brahmoism and—not Christianity—but Christ. We have seen already that even the Progressive Brahmos have manifested a most decided shrinking from Christ, at the same time accepting many of the truths which originated with Christ, or which have been established in the world by Christ. While making this statement we must acknowledge the many, eloquent, and grateful admissions which have been made by some leading Brahmos of the immense obligations under which the world lies to Christ. They have admitted that he is well entitled to be called our elder brother, the most glorious Son of God. But while acknowledging that some leading Brahmos have made such admissions regarding Christ, we cannot be blind to the fact that they have never accorded to Christ that position with reference to human salvation which we believe he occupies. Christ said, 'Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' I have never seen the plain meaning of this passage acknowledged as a truth by any Brahmo. Christ said, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life!' but no Brahmo has ever accepted that statement as true in any sense in which it is accepted as true by a Christian. But this and other similar statements regarding the connection between the person of Christ and human salvation, contain the essential point of Christian faith. And as long as we accept the gospels of the evangelists and the epistles of the Apostles, as containing a faithful account of the principles of Christianity, we must look upon Brahmoism, in its present form, as being wanting in that central, essential element which has been the life of the Christian Church from the beginning...

With reference to the future of this religious movement we should not perhaps speak very decidedly. But yet, judging from the analogy of history, there are some general statements which I think we may safely venture upon regarding the future prospects of Brahmoism. If we inquire what it is that has preserved Christianity in its unity and life during its long and chequered history, we shall find I think, that it is its connection with an historical person...

3. *J. Barton on Mutual Relations of Indian Churches*

I am not one of those sanguine persons who think that the time is near at hand when it will be possible for us to meet upon the same ecclesiastical platform, nor am I by any means sure that were such a consummation possible it would prove so conducive as might at first appear to the interests of our Lord's Kingdom. I cannot myself sympathize with those who regard the present state of things as an unmixed evil, and the various sections into which the professing church of Christ is divided as so many practical dismemberments of the body of Christ. My ideal of Christian unity is not uniformity of ecclesiastical organization, but oneness of spirit and of doctrine. To speak of the Church as if it were co-extensive with this or that ecclesiastical body, seems to me to confound the visible Church of Christ with the invisible, and to treat church-membership as if it were the same thing as Christ-membership. Most important indeed and most precious as a means of grace is that bond which unites Christians together in that visible corporate union which constitutes a Church, but let us not so misread the New Testament as to see in it nothing but our own ecclesiastical system to the exclusion of all others. In looking back upon the past, however much one may deplore in many cases the circumstances under which our various ecclesiastical systems had their origin, it seems to me impossible for any candid and unbiased mind not to see and admit that God, who governs all things according to the counsels of His own will, has overruled these very divisions to His own glory and the advancement of His kingdom.

When however we come to consider the relations which should subsist between the various Native Convert Churches planted through the agency of various Missionary Societies, the question of Church Organization assumes a very different aspect. We are dealing here with new material, capable of being as easily moulded into one shape as another, and the question for us to consider is whether we are to reproduce in our Native Churches all the differences which separate ourselves? We profess to carry to this and other heathen lands the Gospel of the Lord Jesus; to give them that which first regenerate, then sanctify them, and build them up day by day in all the fullness and beauty of the Christian life. To this end we form them into congregations, and seek to the best of our ability to give them pastors after God's own heart who will 'feed them with knowledge and understanding'. All this we have done, and God has blessed our labours, and our hearts are cheered by seeing on every side Churches rising up like oases in the barren desert; the wilderness beginning to rejoice and blossom as the rose. But have we done nothing more than this? Have we not

trained them also too rigidly according to our own particular model, as if it were not merely Christianity that we desired to impart to them, but *Episcopalian* or *Presbyterian* or *Lutheran* Christianity?...

The whole argument seems to me to turn upon the answer which we give to the following questions :—

1. Are the Native Churches of India to have an independent organic existence of their own ; or are they to be regarded, like our English-speaking congregations in this land, as mere branches of the Mother Churches from which they first sprang ?

2. Admitting that they ought to have a separate organization of their own, have they not, as a necessary consequence, the right to elect their own form of Church Government so soon as they are able to maintain themselves ?

With regard to the first of these questions I suppose we are now all of one mind, whatever we may have thought a few years back, that we cannot expect to see a Native Church rising to the full measure of its duties and responsibilities until it possesses an organic independent existence of its own. Perhaps it is not too much to say that of all the discoveries that have been made of late years in the science of modern missions, this is by far the most important...

Assuming it then as a principle, regarding which we are all agreed, that a Native Church ought to possess an independent organic life of its own, it seems to follow as a necessary corollary that so soon as it can exist without foreign support it has a right to elect its own form of Church government.

There are various other ways, however, in which this desired consummation may be gradually prepared for and brought about. My honoured friend, Newton of Lahore, who read a paper on this very subject at the Conference held 10 years ago in that city, mentioned the following as some of the different modes in which the way might be prepared for future union, and I have little to add to his admirable suggestions.

1. Joint Inerancies by the members of the different Missions, both Missionaries and Catechists.

2. Mutual interchange of pulpits.

3. Union Prayer meetings.

4. Inter-communion at the Lord's Table.

5. Common religious Periodicals.

6. Advisory Conferences or Councils, to meet at intervals of five years, or so...

4. *K. C. Chatterjee on the Relations of the Missionaries to Converts in Secular Matters*

The Protestant Missionary in India stands in a two-fold relation to native converts. He is the spiritual father of his people whom he has collected out of heathenism. He instructs them in the knowledge of Christ, and builds them up in the faith and hope of the Gospel. But this is not all. He is also related to them in secular matters. He is the temporal head of the native Christian Community, and, as such, has to discharge towards it the various duties of an earthly friend, patron and benefactor. When a Hindu or a Mohammaden embraces the Christian religion, the missionary has in most cases to provide him with a house to live in, and get him some means of subsistence. He has to educate the converts and their children. He has to teach them good manners, self-reliance, energy and industry. When they are in difficulty or distress, the missionary has to come forward and help them out of it. In fact he has to seek and promote their temporal welfare as much as their spiritual good, and to be to them as a father to his children...

1. My first proposition is, it is legitimate for the missionaries to attend to the temporal wants and prosperity of their converts. Some have doubted the truth of this proposition, and felt troubled in mind to be obliged to attend to the bodily necessities of their flock. They feel the sacredness of their position, and consider it their duty to devote themselves wholly to the word of God, and prayer. Every portion of time and talent devoted to the direction and supervision of the secular affairs of converts is, in their estimation, unjustly withdrawn from their proper sphere of labour. I sympathize very much with the spirit that suggests this remark...

2. My next proposition is, in the present circumstances of the Native Church, secular connection of missionaries with native converts is essentially necessary for the successful propagation of the Gospel. Our converts are from schools or from preaching. If from the former, they are generally dependent members of the family, and are turned out of it on their conversion. But if from the latter, they are generally poor, earning their livelihood by some humble calling which they are often obliged to give up on account of the persecution of their neighbours on their conversion to Christianity. In either case, by adopting the new faith they are banished from their homes, and excluded from the society, sympathy, and support of their friends. They become like exiles in their native land. Placed in such a situation, the convert naturally looks to his spiritual father in Christ, who is possessed of means and influence to help him, for earthly support, and expects him to take the place of a father, friend and patron. Under such circumstances, it is

impossible for the missionaries to continue passive spectators refusing every assistance. Few can look with indifference on the sufferings of the weak and the helpless, especially if they be their children in the faith...

3. My third statement in this subject is, secular relations of missionaries to native converts have been hitherto most unfortunate and unsatisfactory in their results. In the first place they have absorbed a large portion of the missionary's time, care and attention which would otherwise be devoted to the important work of preaching and teaching. They have also had a most undesirable influence upon the native Christian community...

4. My fourth and last proposition is, we ought to do something at once to put our secular relations with converts on a more satisfactory basis, so as to remove their present evil consequences, especially the misunderstanding and ill-feeling in connection with them. It is a case of pressing importance, and not one in regard to which we can be still, and say, let things go on as they have done in years past. We have an important work before us. The interests of that work require that missionaries and native Christians should be united in their counsels and operations to bring it to a successful issue. And how can that take place as long as discontent and dissatisfaction are reigning amongst them ?...

5. *The Resolution on Mutual Non-interference of Missionary Societies*

The Conference desire to put on record their sense of the grave importance of the principle of mutual non-interference of Missionary Societies. They are of opinion that, with certain recognized exceptions, such as the large centres of population, it is expedient that agents of different Missionary Societies should occupy different fields of labour. Without calling in question the right of every missionary to exercise his ministry wherever God may give him opportunity, it is their solemn conviction that the progress of the Gospel in a heathen land can only be retarded by the missionaries of one communion receiving the converts of another church, who are as yet imperfectly acquainted with divine truth and unable to enter intelligently into questions which separate the various sections of Christendom,—especially those who are under discipline.

123. THE MISSIONARY CONFERENCE : SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON, BANGALORE (1879 A.D.)

The following papers and resolutions of the South India Missionary Conference held at Bangalore in 1879, are found in the *Report of the Missionary Conference ; South India and Ceylon, Bangalore*, 1879, vol. I, (1) pp. 293-301; (2) pp. 320-327; (3) pp. 331-335; (4) pp. 346-451 (selection) ; (5) pp. 372-378 ; (6) p. 402 ; (7) p. 421.

1. *W. Burgess on the dangers of a Christian Community Emerging from Heathenism*

My subject is divided into two parts :—1st, the dangers incident to a Christian community emerging from heathenism ; and 2nd, what are regarded as indications of an attachment to Caste, and how should they be dealt with.

1. With respect to the first, it is scarcely needful for me to remark that the dangers incident to any Christian community necessarily take their colour from the surroundings out of which the community takes its rise. One of the marked peculiarities of Hinduism is its elaborate ritual. Its spirit is essentially ceremonial. In fact, beyond that, it speaks of little else. According to its teaching, salvation might have no connection whatever with any internal moral change. Now, one of the chief dangers, incident to a Christian community emerging from such a faith, naturally will be that of supposing that the essence of Christianity consists in forms and ceremonies duly observed without any recognition of the fact that a change of heart is the chief object to be aimed at. And this is just as we find it. The danger of trusting in form, and resting satisfied with the mere nominal profession of Christianity, is by no means confined to India...

Another danger threatening the very existence of the Church of Christ in India arises from the retention of heathen customs. Many who enter the Christian Church are not in the first instance moved by the purest of motives. Certainly we oftentimes have to mourn over motives, which, if not out and out unworthy, are yet very doubtful and defective ; and there is a probability of such persons bringing with them into the Christian fold, much which, if allowed to remain, will undoubtedly prove very detrimental to the purity of the Church of God. It is quite possible, too, that even though the motive may be pure and the intention is good, still, owing to peculiarities of early training, the power to perceive what is pernicious may yet be wanting, and thoughtlessly they may retain customs and practices, which in their tendency are evil. We cannot forget the hold which Hinduism has on its subjects. It lays hand

upon them in infancy, enters into the commonest acts of daily life, grows as they grow, and becomes interwoven with the very fibres of their nature. And the danger is, that, when a Hindu becomes a Christian, he may find it almost impossible, all at once, to break clean away from many things, which, through constantly repeated habit, have become second nature to him. Every day a thousand things occur which bring back to his mind old customs, and no wonder if now and then we find him slipping into old practices and tripping somewhat. He has not had the advantages of a Christian home with all its power of example and the restraining influence of its love. Born in heathenism, cradled in it, bred in it, the hands that hold him are not gossamer, but iron cables which have been years in the forging. But while we remember this and exercise the utmost possible patience and forbearance, there should yet be great firmness in resisting whatever is heathenish. The retention of heathen customs in connection with daily life, such as, the observance of lucky days ; placing lights during the day in the sick room and about the dead ; falling into old ceremonies in times of epidemics ; hiring temple girls to dance at weddings, and the performance of other degrading rites in connection with marriages and funerals, should never be pandered to in any measure...

With regard to the second part of my subject, I must content myself with brevity. I doubt not but that it will be more fully and much more ably dealt with by my colleagues in this paper.

There are in the Christian Church those who assert that caste is simply a civil institution recognizing differences analogous to the social distinctions of rank and birth observed in other lands, and, as such, they insist on its retention as a privilege and a right. Whatever it may be in the estimation of those who hanker after it in the Christian Church, I think there cannot be two opinions as to the way in which Hindus themselves regard it. Certainly, by the orthodox, its claims are considered religious and sacred as well as social. It is the very last thing a Hindu can bring himself to surrender. His gods may go—nay, all things else may go, if only this may be retained. The nature of caste is too well known to require any new delineation at my hands. Its presumptuous claims on the soul ; its civil enactments respecting those who are under its displeasure ; its virulent spirit ; and the ridiculous and sinful basis on which it builds its authority, are matters with which every student of Hinduism is conversant, and which have occupied the attention of conferences similar to this, in days gone by. Sentence has been pronounced against it: the ban of the Christian Church is already upon it : and you might as well expect to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, as look for anything generous, or noble, or good, from such a source. Taking it for granted then, that the

institution which prevents a man being esteemed according to his goodness, and places birth-heritage above the pure life, is bad ; the question remaining is, what are to be regarded as indications of an attachment to it...

2. *Jacob Chamberlain on the Relation of the Foreign Societies to Native Churches*

What then should be the relationship existing between the infant churches which we of different lands and different branches of the Church of Christ are planting in India ? This is a matter on which I have thought much and studied long and widely, and I cannot but come to this conclusion :—

We should so constitute and instruct our Churches that there may be a cordial working harmony between them all. We should organize them as different regiments and brigades and army corps of *the one grand army of the Living God*, and so order and control them that we may never be guilty of the awful mistake of turning our suicidal guns on one another instead of on our common enemy. It may be best for us to keep up our regimental organizations, our distinctive denominational peculiarities *for the present*, but we should all be careful to exalt the Royal Banner of our Jesus above all our regimental colours :—to make much of the essentials in which we all here agree and less of the non-essentials in which we chance to differ...

I may not live to see the day, but my sons now in the university, preparing to come to India as missionaries, may, when there shall be organized a ' Church of Christ in India ', not American, not English, not German, not Danish but *of India and suited to India*, in which we shall see not Scotch Presbyterianism nor English Anglicanism, nor German Lutheranism, but the best features chosen out of all denominations and incorporated into one visible Church of Him of Nazareth. To this end, it seems to me, should all of us work. It may not be feasible now, but I do believe that greater organic unity than we now possess is feasible and should be earnestly sought for in the near future...

I would not at this stage advocate the amalgamation of all the Churches either in China or India into one. As in the great conflict in America, when there were a million men under arms, it may be necessary to have five or six ' army corps ' in the Church militant's ' army of India '. We could not at present all be Episcopalians, or Presbyterians, or Lutherans, or Baptists, or Methodists, or Independents ... Now I feel quite convinced that an unprejudiced reading of the apostolic records point to the Consistory and Classis and Synods of my own ' Reformed Church ' as the nearest to the apostolic model of any existing Church organization...

Be it so. Grant that we cannot amalgamate into one church organization at present, we can at least lessen the number of independent and isolated organizations. Is it too much to believe that we could have, if we each were willing to yield as much as we wish others to yield to us, one Presbyterian army corps instead of nine detached regiments : and so one Episcopalian : one Methodist : one Baptist ... And in God's good time, working thus together, it might be possible in the premillenial future to have one self-supporting, self-governing ' Church of Christ in India '.

This I believe then to be the relationship which should subsist between the rising native Churches connected with the different missions in India.

This granted, the second part of the question almost answers itself and my remarks on it shall be exceedingly brief.

The relation which Foreign Missionary Societies should hold toward the rising native Churches should then be such as to allow of such progress towards this so desirable a goal. There should then, in ecclesiastical matters, be the greatest maximum of liberty to the native Churches with smallest minimum of authority over them exercised from home lands...

3. *W. T. Satthianadhan on the Relation of the Foreign Societies to Native Churches*

At the same time every encouragement should be given to make the native Church self-supporting. There is a feeling on the part of some, that the system which existed formerly, of native congregations under the pastoral charge of foreign missionaries, should still continue. With this view I candidly confess I do not sympathize. That system was necessary for an incipient state of the native Church, but as it has grown and the native pastorate has increased, it is very inexpedient to continue that system, except where there are as yet no native clergy. The Home Societies are therefore naturally desirous of introducing a different policy which shall advance the self-reliance and self-support of the native Church.

The system pursued to help on the independence of the native Church is mainly the voluntary system, supplemented by a grant-in-aid from foreign Missionary Societies. They seem to think that the native Churches are so strong and so flourishing that they could safely reduce this grant-in-aid every year till in a few years the whole grant shall be withdrawn, so that the native Church may stand on its own basis. It is here I think that the foreign Missionary Committees seem to be labouring under a misapprehension. The depressed state of the country for several years past has had a serious

effect on the contribution of the native Churches. Instead of rising steadily, in many places they have fallen off, and there is little prospect of any rapid rise in the native contributions. Our good friends across the blue waters do not seem to realize this state of things. Their watch-word is retrenchment. This being the position of matters, it has always been my humble view that in order to make the native Church entirely independent, a modification of the present system was absolutely necessary, I mean the combination of the voluntary with the endowment system. This will secure to the native Church the two-fold advantage of corporate life and permanency of organization. Foreign Missionary Societies, who have founded the native Churches at so much cost of labour, money and prayer, while using all legitimate means to advance their self-support, should at the same time continue their interest and support till they attain their manhood by natural process of growth. The relation therefore of the foreign Missionary Societies to rising native Churches must be paternal. These Societies may well say with the great Apostle of the Gentiles in respect of native Churches: 'I have begotten you through the Gospel.' The relation of a parent to his child cannot be stronger and closer than that which exists or ought to exist between the Missionary Societies and native Churches. The latter are anxious to maintain this relation. The question is only about the former, viz., the Missionary Societies. And yet I may state that my late visit to England and my intercourse with a great many Christian and Missionary committees convinced me that the Home Societies are equally anxious to maintain this relation. They will never for one moment think of forsaking their children when they know that these children still need their sympathy and fostering care. This interest of Home Churches and Committees in the growth and self-support of the Indian Church is, as far as my observation went, very marked...

All this shows the relation which does exist between foreign Missionary Societies and the rising native Churches. As has already been observed, though there is a strong and growing desire on the part of the former to see the speedy independence of the latter, yet I feel certain that no action will be taken which could be construed into a desire to forsake the native Church. Unfortunately there is a feeling on the part of many of our native Christian brethren that foreign Missionary Societies are determined to denounce all connection with them in their efforts to make them independent. From the state of matters I have observed in England, I may confidently state that this is far from being the case, for such an act on the part of Home Societies would be analogous to the act of a father who, in the effort to teach his son the art of swimming, has left him in the deep water before he has learnt how to keep afloat...

4. *B. Rice on the Training of Native Agents*

That the evangelization of India is to be accomplished to a large extent by the aid of its own sons, is becoming every year more and more apparent. The Churches of Christendom cannot send out, and maintain in the field, a sufficient number of men from Europe and America to spread the Gospel throughout this vast country. And even if they could, the men so sent out labour under many disadvantages. They are foreigners, and have to toil long to obtain fluency in the vernaculars. They cannot mingle so closely and freely with the people as natives of the country can. They are liable, also, from failure of health, and other causes, to be removed, it may be, just at the time when they have become most efficient. It is, moreover, a fact proved by the history of Missions in India, that the progress of the work has been, hitherto, materially promoted by the labours of native agents. Without such aid it would be impossible to carry on missionary operations to anything like their present extent.

It is therefore, not surprising to hear missionaries, in various places, expressing an earnest desire for an increased staff of efficient native assistants. Earnest evangelists are needed to sow the good seed of the Kingdom of God broad-cast among the people, and able native ministers, to instruct and superintend the rising Christian Churches. A writer in the north of India says truly :—' Economy will soon force missionary bodies to put more Mission work into the hands of experienced natives than they have hitherto done. The work, both among Christians and non-Christians, is increasing. So great is the call, even now, for workers, that inferior men, rejected in one mission for almost any cause, except immorality, readily finds employment in another.' This is true of the south, as well as of the north.

5. *A. H. Arden on the Relations of Native Ministers to Missionaries and to Local Governing Bodies*

In the present state of mission work and of the Native Church (which is evidently in a transitional state), the most important point seems to be, that the mutual *feeling* subsisting between the two parties under consideration should be of the right kind. If this be secured, circumstances guided by the providence of God will gradually point out the right course of action.

Taking it for granted that the ultimate object both of the missionary and of the native minister is this—the completed edifice of a self-supporting and self-governing Church, then it must be allowed on all hands, that the steps to be taken for the attainment

of this object must be gradual, and that its accomplishment cannot be effected by the application of rigid rules and regulations, still less by premature efforts on the part of Missionary Societies, but must be the spontaneous fruit of effects produced by the Holy Spirit upon the organic life of the Native Church—the result of a development worked out by the good providence of God, in His own wise way, and in his own wise time.

Remembering this, the European missionary on his part will be far from desiring to keep in a subordinate position a native minister, whom God has evidently fitted by several years of Christian experience to be an independent pillar of the Native Church. And remembering this, the wise and experienced native minister for his part will be far from desiring to encourage in his younger brethren in the native ministry anything like a spirit of pride or presumption, which would show restiveness and dissatisfaction under the most salutary and needful superintendence of a European missionary...

With regard to the native minister, it seems only natural and right that a judicious man, discerning in all the political events of the world the overruling hand of God, should recognise that peculiar relationship which subsists between England and India, and the position in which Englishmen are necessarily placed in this country. But yet he will be very careful not to allow this feeling to interfere with his responsibility before God...

To look for a short time at the other side of the question, namely, the relationship of the European missionary to the native minister, nothing perhaps ought to influence the former more strongly, than the feeling that his native brother has been placed in the same solemn office of the ministry as himself, that he has been judged faithful by the Church, and has by her authorised representatives been placed in a most responsible position. He will remember that considerable respect and love are due to the *office*, as well as to the individual who has by recognised authority been placed in that *office*. He will regard his native brother as one entrusted equally with himself with the solemn yet honourable position of being an 'Ambassador for Christ'. In proportion then as the European missionary realizes the sacred character of the Christian ministry, the solemn importance of the office, and its close connection with the great head of the Church, Jesus Christ, in that same proportion he will show respect and consideration for his native brother, and extend to him not only the right hand of fellowship, but real confidence and affection...

Although Mission work in India is as yet hardly advanced beyond a state of pupilage, yet a wise missionary will (as I have already observed) ever keep the future of the Native Church before

his mind, and steadily aim at, and labour for the time, when it shall stand entirely on its own basis, and be both self-governing and self-supporting. Hence while on the one hand he will not allow this idea to overrule his judgement, and induce him to try to make the tender infant walk by itself, when as yet there is not the strength or the guiding power to do so ; he will on the other hand encourage in every possible way free spontaneous effort, and by relaxing by degrees the supporting hand, will leave the carefully trained offspring, under God, to guide its own labour...

This latter point is one in which local governing bodies ought specially to use their influence. They should endeavour to keep before the minds of the native clergy the great duty of teaching a Christian Church to support its own ministry. They should endeavour to eradicate the somewhat false view of Missionary Societies, which has to some extent gained possession of the native mind. They should clearly explain that the object of a Missionary Society is not to undertake the permanent support of native Christian Churches, and thus to be responsible for those plain duties, for which in due time Native Churches ought themselves to be responsible ; but having brought the light of the Gospel, and left it as a precious deposit, then to pass on to the unchristianised regions beyond.

6. *Resolution on the Native Church*

The Conference, while convinced of the great importance of promoting by every judicious means the self-support and self-government of the Native Church, desires to place on record its conviction that the Native Church is no part of it as yet in a position to dispense with European Guidance and support ; and that any premature step in this direction would be highly injurious to its healthy development and ultimate stability.

7. *Resolution on Caste*

1. That this Conference regards Hindu caste, both in theory and practice, as not merely civil distinction, but emphatically a religious institution.

2. That viewed in this light it is diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of the oneness of human nature, and the brotherhood of all true Christians.

3. That it is the duty of all missionaries and churches to require its entire renunciation, with all its outward manifestation, by all those who desire to enter the Church of Christ.

124. CLOUGH ON THE MASS MOVEMENT AT ONGOLE (1879 A.D.)

In letters written to the American Baptist Missionary Union in the summer of 1876, J. E. Clough, the only missionary in the field, describes the beginnings of the great mass movement at Ongole (Andhra Pradesh). Some Madigas had become Christian before a severe famine, during which Clough had secured work for them in digging a canal. During that period he refused to baptize any more lest they become Christian simply to get work. The baptisms reported here took place after the famine period. It is clear that the converts did not gain any material benefit by becoming Christians. Cited in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Sept. 1878, p. 348.

We have commenced baptising again,—only a few of many applicants. We have up-to-date numbered as follows :

June 16, 1878, 102 ; June 17, 40 ; June 19, 3 ; June 20, 30 ; June 23, 154.

Most of the above were men, heads of families, and only one hundred from Ongole.

Yesterday our new chapel was crowded,—seven hundred at least inside, and three hundred or more outside. So, while I preached to the seven hundred within, native preacher Rungiah preached to seven (?) hundred or more under the margosia trees near by.

Before this letter reaches you, there will be five hundred baptised Christians, probably, within four miles of where I now write, residents of Ongole and suburbs. If rain comes soon, and a harvest is given, as we hope, there will be three thousand baptisms in this mission (Ongole) within the next six months. The converts are now waiting for the ordinance. This means addition to our Teloogoo mission of not less than fifteen thousand souls. Perhaps twenty thousand would be nearer correct. What am I to do ? I need, I must have help. By help, I mean that I want some one sent out to help me whom God has called to this very place.

Many men sent out as missionaries are no missionaries at all, never were, and never will be. This class are like millstones about the necks of the real *God-appointed Missionaries*. In sending an assistant to me, please do be careful and get the right man. Please tell brother ———— that I have not wholly given him up yet : he is the kind of man I want for Ongole, and I want *him* if he will come. Ongole, at the present moment, needs to be re-inforced by

the very best man available in the United States of America. Boys and novices are not required.

In Tinnevelly the S. P. G. Missionaries are having a great harvest: seventeen hundred have abandoned their idols, and are seeking Christian instruction. To meet the needs of this harvest, the S.P.G. Society has appointed (so say the daily papers) ten new missionaries, and have authorised them to employ sixty new catechists. Here, with an equal or greater harvest, I am all alone. Send help at once,— *men and money* ! Do not plead hard times. God has the money, and *will give it if you call* ; else, it seems to me, a mistake is being made here in calling so many to righteousness. Fear not! launch out ! do not tarry ! and God will send all the money *you require : and I have no fears.*

Later.—June 24 I wrote you at great length about many things, some of which are of vital importance to your mission to the Teloogoos. I have not the time to write much this morning ; but I have some glorious news to tell, which you and the readers of 'The Missionary Magazine' are not unprepared to hear. 'The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.'

In my letter of 24th, I mentioned that we had again commenced baptising. We, on account of the famine stopped receiving converts into the church early in March 1877 : hence, for over fifteen months we had no additions to our number, while the famine, in its direct and indirect work, constantly thinned our ranks. On June 16th we again commenced receiving converts,—*belivers* in the Lord Jesus as their Saviour and the Saviour of the whole world. Since then the work has gone on, widening and deepening ; and now, as I write these lines, it seems to me that the blessed gospel which we try to preach is going to sweep every thing before it . . .

As reported to you on June 24, I and my native assistants had baptised 328 converts. Since then we have baptised, June 24th, 75 ; 26th, 77 ; 27th, 140 ; 28th, 150 ; 29th, 186 ; 30th, 212 ; July·1st, 199 ; 2nd, 614 ; 3rd, 2,222 ; 4th, 731 ; 6th, 216 ; 7th, 279. Total number of baptised from June 16—July 7th inclusive 5,429.

But very few of these ever received any famine funds : perhaps not *one hundred* of the whole number ever received ' a pice ' (quarter of a cent) even from me, directly or indirectly and never expect to receive any more of financial aid in any way . . .

125. KESHUB CHUNDER SEN ON JESUS CHRIST (1879 A.D.)

In the ten years since delivering his lecture on' The Indian National Church' (cited above) the Brahmo Samaj leader, Keshub Chunder Sen had come under increasing Christian infleunce. Yet the emphasis on Indianness remains. This is a brief passage from his lecture, 'India Asks : Who is Christ ?' The full text is found in *Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India*, Vol. I pp. 359-393.

I desire to speak of Christ... Most eagerly and most earnestly she (India) asks—Who is Christ ?

... Look at the flood of Christian literature that has swept over the length and breadth of the country. There are heaps of books and numberless preachers and teachers around you, all ready to give, in his own way, a complete answer to the question before us. Doubtless from these sources India has gathered some knowledge of Christ of Nazareth. But such knowledge has not given her complete satisfaction. It is true the people of India have been satisfied in some measure with what they have heard and read of Jesus, but they have been disappointed in a much greater measure. For England has sent unto us, after all, a Western Christ. This is indeed to be regretted. Our countrymen find that in this Christ, sent by England, there is something that is not quite congenial to the native mind, not quite acceptable to the genius of the nation. It seems that the Christ that has come to us is an English man, with English manners and customs about him, and with the temper and spirit of an English man in him ... When they feel that Christ means nothing but the worst form of denationalization, the whole nation must certainly as one man stand up to repudiate and banish this acknowledged evil. But why should you Hindus go to England to learn Jesus Christ ? Is not his native land nearer to India than England ?... Gentlemen, go to the rising sun in the East, not to the setting sun in the West, if you wish to see Christ in plentitude of his glory and in the fulness and freshness of his divine life ... Recall to your minds, gentlemen, the true Asiatic Christ, divested of all Western appendages, carrying on the work of redemption among his own people. Behold, he cometh to us in his loose flowing garment, his dress and features altogether oriental, a perfect Asiatic in everything... Indeed, while reading the Gospel, we cannot but feel that we are quite at home when we are with Jesus, and that he is altogether one of us. Surely Jesus is *our Jesus*...

But can we say the same thing of the invisible Christ : the soul of Christ ? Is that oriental ? Can you as Asiatic appreciate and accept the spirit of Christ as that of a fellow Asiatic ? ... Though

we are Hindus, we cannot help admiring the superior and exalted ethics which Christ brings to us. You cannot deny it, you cannot set it aside. It is from God ... The divinity of Jesus—yes, that is the great subject on which I desire to discourse. Christ is a good man, a great man, we have learnt to love, honour and esteem. Christ as a moral teacher of the highest order we are at this moment ready to enshrine in our hearts...

It appears to me that Christ held earnestly and consistantly what I should, in the absence of a better expression, call the doctrine of divine humanity... From his very early life he seized this great and philosophical idea of divine humanity, and throughout his career he carried it out, with wonderful logical consistency, in all its bearings, speculative and practical...

126. KESHUB CHUNDER SEN'S RITE OF HOLY COMMUNION (1881 A.D.)

Keshub Chunder Sen adopted modes of worship from several religions in his religion, which he called the 'New Dispensation'. His first celebration of Holy Communion was reported by an eye witness on 6th March 1881. Cited in J. Richter, *A History of Christian Missions in India*, pp. 374-375.

The Hindu apostles of Christ, as they call themselves, assembled after prayer in a refectory, and seated themselves upon the bare floor, their legs folded beneath them. Rice was then brought in on a silver trencher, and water in a small jug. The officiating priest read the dedicatory words from Luke 22, and then prayed: 'O Holy Spirit, touch this rice and this water and change their coarse substance into sanctifying spiritual forces, in order that, as we eat, we may assimilate them in our bodies just as the flesh and blood of all saints is assimilated in Jesus Christ. Satisfy the hunger and thirst of our souls with the rice and water placed before us by Thee. Make us strong through the power of Christ, and nourish us with holy living.' After the rice and the water had been consecrated, they were handed round to those present in small portions. They ate and drank solemnly and praised God, the God of the prophets and the saints.

127. THE SECOND DECENNIAL CONFERENCE, CALCUTTA (1882-1883 A.D.)

The second all-India decennial Missionary Conference (the first having been held at Allahabad in 1872-73) was held at Calcutta. Portions of some of the papers read which are reproduced here are from the Report of the *Second Decennial Conference Held at Calcutta*, 1882-83. (1) pp. 62-63 ; (2) pp. 111-119 ; (3) pp. 251-260.

1. *W. Hooper on The Native Agency*

It has happily become an axiomatic truth in all Missions, that the work, though begun by foreigners, must be carried on by natives ; and that therefore, after the first introduction of the Gospel in a new country, the next great duty of the foreigner is, to set agoing that succession of native workers for God, which must before long take the whole work in their own country into their own hands. Peculiar circumstances in this country have indeed delayed the commencement of this task, and even now retard its realization, beyond what is the case where the people have been less long accustomed to dependence, and where the foreign missionaries have not had the misfortune of belonging, in the eyes of the unthinking mass, to the foreign government ; but it is now, God be thanked, taken up on all sides with an energy and a determination which ensure success ; and what is of still better augury, our native brethren are learning, and have in some cases thoroughly learnt, to discard the 'ma-bap' system, and to gird up their loins for the task which is above all theirs, and which may be solely theirs sooner than any of us think.

But the starting of the system of native agency must be, from the necessities of the case, mainly if not entirely the work of foreigners ; and it is, as I have observed, the most important of the various tasks which are imposed upon them at the present time. For on the manner in which it is started, and the direction given to it at starting, will very greatly depend, under God, the usefulness or uselessness (and if uselessness, then, surely, positive harmfulness) of the ever-increasing native Christian agency in the land. The river is now a tiny stream, high up in the bosom of the mountain ; on us mainly depends whether it will flow down on the one side, and after causing ruin and devastation by its headlong course soon lose itself in the sea, or whether it will gently descend on the other side in ever-increasing volume, and fertilize a whole continent with life-giving influence, before it is received into the bosom of eternity.

There is indeed, one respect in which it is not given us to determine the course which native agency in this country will take. Most of us, no doubt, honestly believe that it would be best for India, if its Church could be formed, if not exactly, yet essentially, on the lines of those European and American churches to which we severally belong. But God has ordained it otherwise, and our meeting here in this conference is a proof that we have accepted the facts which He has brought about ; and not only resignedly accept them, but, knowing the inability of our own several churches to cope with the mighty task before the whole church in this country, we rejoice that what we, severally, could not do, is being done by others : and thus we leave to our Divine Head who has the interests of His body at heart infinitely more than we can have them, to evolve the constitution of His Indian Church as He will ; meanwhile believing, that we are best hastening forward whatever may be His gracious design, by strenuously, and yet charitably, urging on the development of native agency on those lines which we severally believe to be best, best for the people of this land and not only for us occidentals.

2. *W. Miller on Higher Education*

I am asked to give in twenty minutes my thoughts on Higher Education, and the only guidance I have got from the Managing committee is that I am to deal with the question of how to maintain efficient Scripture teaching in College classes. I think that I cannot do more than notice this one aspect of the whole large theme. Its being prescribed, indicates that some experience difficulty in teaching it in other classes. For my own part I have no experience of any difficulty of the kind. It surely stands to reason that even though there be no distinctly spiritual interest aroused, young men passing through a course of liberal training should care more than school boys for the unfolding of moral principles, for the study of character, for the discussion of the deep questions concerning God and man, concerning duty, revelation, and immortality, to which every hour of Scripture study leads the way. In a class of students I should therefore expect to find a keener sympathy, a more thoughtful attention, and also from time to time, a more intelligent opposition, than it would be reasonable to count on in a class of younger boys. Upon the whole I have never found this expectation disappointed in the students of the Madras Christian College. I may quote from myself a sentence that stands on the records of the Education Commission now sitting in this city :—' No complaint has ever reached me of the four best hours of the students' week being devoted to subjects that count for nothing in the University Examinations.' I may safely add that it is not only that no complaint has reached me, but that to the best of my belief no desire to make the complaint exists.

I think I may venture to state a fact that shows the prevailing feeling of our students on this point. Quite recently I heard that some months ago the leading Debating Society in the College discussed the question :—' Ought religion to form part of public education ? ' and that the decision arrived at was in the affirmative. That the education given in their own college should embrace religion, it probably had not occurred to the members of the Society to question : But so well is that side of things appreciated among us, that a majority at all events were prepared to hold that public instruction at large should be religious. What kind of religious teaching our young friends wished to have, and how they proposed to meet the practical difficulties that have puzzled more experienced heads than theirs,—this I do not know ; and if I did, I should not tell it. The Society is so entirely an affair of the students' own, originated, managed, controlled so completely by themselves, that I have hesitated a little as to whether I have the right even to mention their doings publicly. However, I believe they will excuse me. I am sure they are not ashamed of their opinions...

Yet another point occurs to me as deserving of attention. It regards the mode in which the Scripture teaching is given in our classes. I do not mean to imply that our practice in this respect differs from what prevails elsewhere. But I have little doubt that some part of the interest that Scripture instruction has hitherto commanded among our students should be ascribed to this cause. The aim has been more to awaken thought than to inculcate dogma. The giving of full expression to imperfect views, and to antagonistic views when it seemed to proceed from honest thought, has always been rather encouraged than repressed. Full recognition has been given to all that is good and true in every system of belief, and any cleaving has been welcomed to the gleams of light that, apart from Christianity, have shone across the darkness of the world,—to the thoughts that ' Through many a dreary age upbore whate'er of good or wise yet lived in bard or sage.'

That is the mode of teaching that the whole principles of the divine dealings with our race has sanctioned, and it promises more fruitful, though it may be more tardy, results than any other—at least in the judgement of those who have faith in the might of truth and in the Spirit's promised presence, and who care more for one atom of moral life that is germinating within, than for a whole system of professed truth that has no living root within the soul...

3. *W. T. Satthianadhan on Self-Support and Self-Propagation of the Native Churches*

1. It is a fact admitted by all that the Native churches were not originally founded on this principle. Hence the great lesson of

self-help is one of the hardest for the native congregations to learn. But the churches in Southern India have advanced so much that it ought to be inculcated and enforced slowly but steadily even if, in some cases, it may not be learnt readily and cheerfully. To quote from a paper on a similar subject :—' The idea of supporting religious teachers is indigenous to the country. The Hindus recognise the principle and give large offerings to the Brahmin priests. A short time since, a heathen came into one of the Church Missionary Society's churches in the northern part of the diocese (of Travancore and Cochin), and put a small sum into the hands of the catechist saying that he wished to make an offering to the God whom the Christians worshipped. The large number of churches, about 500, built by the people, and of priests supported by them, in connection with the Roman and Syrian communities, are a recognition of the same principle.'

2. In order to effect this object it is essential for each member of Christ's Church to feel, or to be made to feel, his or her own individual responsibility and duty in setting apart a portion of their income for the support of their church and ordinances, from a feeling of indebtedness to Him who ' though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich.' It is doubtless a well-known fact that the majority of Native Christians are poor, and are consequently not in a position to give largely for this object. But there is a liberality even in poverty, as was the case with the churches of Macedonia, and with the poor widow who gave all that she had of her living. It is a great point gained if the principle is indicated, and the sense of responsibility felt, by which every one who bears the name of Christ learns to give something however small, for the noble cause. There are some members of native churches who are in easy circumstances, and who may contribute largely of their substance with a view to promote the self-support of their church. But it is not so much from the rich few, as from the poor many, that the largest and steadiest support must be expected. It is better for instance to secure one rupee from sixteen persons at the rate of one anna each, than to have the whole amount from one individual only ; for in the latter case, it may be lost by his removal or withdrawal ; whereas in the former its continuance may fairly be reckoned on. What I mean is that each member of a church, however poor, should learn to give a portion of his income systematically, though it may not be much more than a pie. They should feel by experience that ' it is more blessed to give than to receive '. No convert should be received, no new congregations formed, nor churches funded without the lesson of self-help being first distinctly inculcated and enforced. In this important matter they should rely more upon the strength and promised aid of their Divine Head, and upon themselves, than upon the support of Foreign Missionary Societies...

In respect to self-rule too, the churches have made great progress. At the commencement the Madras Native Church Council was composed of nine members, three of them were European missionaries, one being the Chairman. But gradually as the Native Church became stronger and more liberal, the European element diminished, till at length it was entirely withdrawn. And now, true to its name, it is a *bona fide* Native Church Council, its Chairman, Secretary and Members being all Native Christians...

3. On the subject of the self-propagation of the Native Churches I need to make a few remarks after the hints which have already been thrown out about it. As the light, from its very nature, cannot but diffuse itself, so the light of the gospel which has illumined the dark soul cannot but propagate itself and help to remove the surrounding darkness. He who has experienced the enlightening and transforming power of the gospel, and tasted the sweetness and greatness of Christ's love, cannot help telling the old, old story to others. What is true of individual believers must be true of the Churches ; for real corporate life is but the expression of individual life...

128. SRI RAMAKRISHNA'S VISION OF CHRIST (c. 1886 A.D.)

The following passage describes the Hindu reformer, Ramakrishna's vision of Christ. Though it is not known precisely when he had this experience (he lived from 1836-1886), it was probably near the end of his life. From Swami Jagadananda (transl.), *Sri Ramakrishna the Great Master*, pp. 295-296.

But, a year after, the mind of the Master again looked forward to the vision of the divine Mother through another path. He had by that time become acquainted with Sambhuchandra Mallick who read the Bible to him. Thus he came to know of the pure life of Jesus and the faith he founded. Scarcely had that desire arisen in his mind when the divine Mother fulfilled it in a marvellous way and blessed him. He had, therefore, no need to make any special effort for it. The event happened thus : The garden house of Jadunath Mallick is situated to the south of the Kali temple at Dakshineswar ; the Master used to go there now and then for a walk. Jadunath and his mother had great devotion to the Master from the time they had seen him. Therefore, even if they were not present in the garden at the time of the Master's walk there, the officers would open the door of the parlour and ask him to sit and rest there for some time. There were some good pictures hanging from the walls of that room. One of those pictures was that of the child Jesus in his mother's lap. The Master used to say that he sat one day in that parlour and was looking

intently on that picture and thinking of the extraordinary life of Jesus, when he felt as if the picture came to life and effulgent rays of light, coming out from the bodies of the mother and the child, entered into his heart and changed radically all the ideas of his mind ! On finding that all the inborn Hindu impressions disappeared into a secluded corner of his mind that different ones arose in it, he tried in various ways to control himself and prayed earnestly to the divine Mother, ' What strange changes art Thou bringing about in me, Mother ? ' But nothing availed. Rising with a force, the waves of those impressions completely submerged the Hindu ideas in his mind. His love and devotion to the Devas and Devis vanished, and in their stead, a great faith in and reverence for Jesus and his religion occupied his mind, and began to show him Christian padrees offering incense and light before the image of Jesus in the Church and to reveal to him the eagerness of their hearts in the form of imploring prayers. The Master came back to Dakshineswar temple and remained constantly absorbed in the meditation of those inner happenings. He forgot altogether to go to the temple of the divine Mother and pay obeisance to Her. The waves of those ideas had mastery over his mind in that manner for three days. At last, when the third day was about to close, the Master saw, while walking under the Panchavati, that a marvellous god-man of very fair complexion was coming towards him, looking steadfastly at him. As soon as the Master saw that person, he knew that he was a foreigner. He saw that his long eyes had produced a wonderful beauty in his face, and the tip of his nose, though a little flat, did not at all impair that beauty. The Master was charmed to see the extraordinary divine expression of that handsome face, and wondered who he was. Very soon the person approached him and from the bottom of the Master's pure heart came out the words with ringing sound, ' Jesus ! Jesus the Christ, the great Yogi, the loving Son of God and one with the Father, who gave his heart's blood and put up with endless torture in order to deliver men from sorrow and misery ! ' Jesus, the god-man, then embraced the Master and disappeared into the body and the Master entered into ecstasy, lost normal consciousness and remained identified for some time with the Omnipresent Brahman with attributes. Having thus attained the visions of Jesus, the Master became free from the slightest doubt about his being an incarnation of God.

When we were visiting the Master long after this event, one day he raised the topic of Jesus and said, ' Well, boys, you have read the Bible ; can you tell me what is written in it about the physical features of Jesus ? How did he look ? ' We said, ' Sir, we have not seen it written in the Bible anywhere ; but born a Jew, he must have been very fair in complexion with long eyes and aquiline nose to be sure.' Told so, the Master said, ' But I saw that the tip of

his nose was a little flat ; I don't know why I saw him like that.' Though we did not then say anything about what the Master said, we thought, ' How could the form seen by him in ecstasy tally with the actual form of Jesus ? Like all the Jews his nose must have been aquiline.' But we came to know, shortly after the Master passed away, that there were three different descriptions of Jesus ' physical features ; and according to one of them the tip of his nose was a little flat.

129. CONCORDAT OF 1886

The controversy between the Padroadists and the Propagandists was not laid to rest by the Concordat of 1857. Numerous complaints and extensive correspondence between the kings of Portugal and the Popes (see Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, pp. 14-179 for a documented discussion of this period) led to the negotiation of a new concordat between Pope Leo XIII and King Louis I, which was signed on 23rd June 1886, Cited in Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay-Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, vol. II, 1858-1890, pp. 180-186.

TEXT OF THE CONCORDAT

The following is the text of the Concordat which was signed by the ' High Contracting Parties ' on June 23rd 1886 :—

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

His Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff Leo XIII, and His Most Faithful Majesty King Louis I, animated with the desire of promoting the progress of Christianity in the East Indies, and of regulating on a definite and durable basis the Patronage of the Crown of Portugal, have resolved to enter into a Concordat. With this object they have appointed two plenipotentiaries : in the name of His Holiness, the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinal Ludovico Jacobini, His Secretary of State ; and on the part of His Most Faithful Majesty, His Excellency M. João Baptista de Silve Jerrão de Carvalho Martins Ambassador Extraordinary and honorary Minister of State ; who after a mutual exchange of powers which they found in due and good form, have agreed to adopt the following articles.

ARTICLE I

In virtue of former Pontifical concessions, the exercise of the Patronage of the Crown of Portugal shall continue, conformably to the rules of Canon Law, in the Cathedral Churches of the East Indies subject to the modifications expressed in the present Concordat.

ARTICLE II

As regards the Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Goa, the Archbishop shall continue to exercise his rights of Metropolitan in the dioceses suffragan to him.

By a gracious concession of His Holiness, the Archbishop for the time being shall be elevated to the dignity of honorary Patriarch of the East Indies ; and he shall besides enjoy the privilege of presiding over the National Councils of all the East Indies, which shall ordinarily be held at Goa ; the Pope reserving to himself the right of disposing otherwise in particular circumstances.

ARTICLE III

The ecclesiastical province of Goa shall consist, in addition to the Metropolitan See, of the three dioceses of Damaun, (bearing also the title of Cranganor), of Cochin and of Saint Thomas of Meliapor.

The limits of these three dioceses and the districts subject to them will be set forth in a separate appendix.

ARTICLE IV

In the Metropolitan diocese of Goa, as well as in the three suffragan dioceses, the right of Patronage shall be exercised by the Crown of Portugal.

ARTICLE V

In view of the advantages which may result to the faithful of those countries, in consequence of the reconstitution of the three dioceses above-mentioned, forming part of a regular ecclesiastical province, it is agreed that some of the principal bodies of Goan Christians, such as are indicated in a special appendix, although not comprised in the limits of the three dioceses already mentioned, shall nevertheless be aggregated thereto, regard being had to the material and moral elements of homogeneity which assimilate them to the said dioceses.

In the Goan missions of other dioceses, the Ordinary shall by preference confide the care of souls to Goan or Portuguese priests under his authority.

ARTICLE VI

The Portuguese Government undertakes to provide for the suitable endowment of the above-mentioned dioceses, with Chapters, clergy and seminaries, and effectively to co-operate in seconding

the action of the bishops for the foundation of schools, orphanages and other charitable institutions necessary for the good of the faithful and for the evangelization of the pagans.

ARTICLE VII

As to the four dioceses of Bombay, Mangalore, Quilon and Madura, which are to be established by the institution of the hierarchy in the Indies, the Metropolitans with their suffragan bishops shall, on the occasion of the vacancy of an episcopal See, as likewise the suffragans of the province when the Archiepiscopal See is vacant, form of their free choice a *terna* or list of three, which they shall communicate to the Archbishop of Goa, who shall forward it to the Crown. Within a period of six months the latter must present to the Holy See one candidate out of the three comprised in the list—after which date the liberty of Choice devolves on the Holy See.

ARTICLE VIII

The Sovereign Pontiff shall have the nomination of the first Archbishops and bishops of the four dioceses mentioned in the preceding article, which shall be founded as soon as the ecclesiastical hierarchy has been constituted.

ARTICLE IX

The Christian communities of Malacca and Singapore, at present under the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Macao.

ARTICLE X

The patronage of the Crown being thus regulated, the Holy See shall enjoy throughout the rest of the Indies full power to nominate the bishops, and to adopt such measures as it deems expedient for the good of the faithful.

ARTICLE XI

The foregoing concessions, relative to the Patronage of the Crown in the East Indies, being thus modified and interpreted, the Articles III, IV, V, VI and the Appendix A of the Concordat of 1857 remain in force.

ARTICLE XII

The present treaty with its appendix, which forms an integral part of it, shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the

ratifications shall be exchanged at Rome, within a period of three months from the date of signature, or earlier if possible.

Rome, 23rd June 1886.

L. Card. Jacobini. João Baptista de Silva Jerrão de Carvalho Martins.

ANNEXURE TO THE 3rd ARTICLE.

The patriarchal, Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Goa shall comprehend :—

(1) All the territory belonging to the actual Portugese possessions in India, with the exception of the districts of Damaun and Diu, which shall belong to the suffragan diocese of Damaun and titular of Cranganore, in the terms of the 3rd article of the present Concordat.

(2) North Canara, with the Christianities of either jurisdiction which compose it, as follows :—

Sadashigor, Sankerry, Karwar : Ankola, with the Christianities of Bingi, Chindierro, Bollingolly, Yellopor : Sirsy ; Honowar, with the Christianities of Kiroly, Boteul, Ferquembat ; Chandowar and Coompta ; Golmuna, with the Christianities of Sounxim, Munkim and Baitur—thus forming a continuous diocesan territory subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of Goa.

(3) The Christianities within this circumscription which actually belong to the other jurisdiction, become subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of Goa.

II

The diocese of Damaun and titular of Cranganore, erected now by virtue of the 7th article of the Concordat of the 21st February 1857, shall be composed thus :—

(1) The districts of Damaun and Diu actually under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa.

(2) The part of the Broach district which lies to the South of the Nerbudda, and also the Surat district.

(3) The district of Northern Konkan.

(4) The actual Varado of the islands of Salsette and Trombay.

(5) The actual Varado of Bassein—thus forming a continuous diocesan territory subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the diocese.

(6) The following Christianities and establishments, at present subject to the Vicar-Apostolic, are excepted :—

In Surat district : the churches and parishes of Surat and Bulsar.

In the islands of Salsette and Trombay : the churches and entire parishes of Marolis and Mancy (Mani) in the island of Trombay, at present under the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic, with the establishments actually belonging to the same jurisdiction.

In Bandora the church actually subject to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic, with St. Stanislaus Institution and St. Jospeh's Convent, which actually already belong to it ; and the churches of Juvem, Condotina (*Candolim*) and Culvem, which also belong to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic.

(7) To avoid all confusion, it is hereby declared that in the actual Varados Nos. 4 and 5 of Salsette and Bassein, there shall continue to be subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the Diocese of Damaun all the Christianities which are actually under the Archdiocese of Goa, —the Christianities already excepted in No. 6 not being actually subject to this jurisdiction.

2.—There shall also belong to the Diocese of Damaun all the Christianities with their churches, chapels and dependent establishments, property and income in the city and island of Bombay, actually subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, which are mentioned here by name for the sake of greater clearness :—

(1) Mazagon with the church and establishments belonging to it, and the chapel of St. Francis Xavier at Colaba and the establishments depending on it :

(2) St. Francis Xavier of Dabul :

(3) Cavel (Our Lady of Health) and the chapel in Sonapur :

(4) Upper Mahim (St. Michael's) with the chapel of Good Counsel at Sion, and the school belonging to it :

(5) Lower Mahim (Our Lady of Salvation) with the chapels of Matunga and Parel, the college and the schools annexed.

III

The Diocese of Cochin, suffragon to Goa, shall be circumscribed thus, comprising :

(1) —(*a*) The city of Cochin with all its Christianities, churches, chapels and all the other dependent establishments :

(*b*) The following circumscriptions with the Christianities of either jurisdiction belonging to them :

Mattanchery and Amarambady (jurisdiction of the Archbishop and the Vicar-Apostolic) :

Pallarutti (jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic) Idacochi, Arus, Punguto and Perumpadippu, Manasherry—S. Luis ; Manasherry—S. Michael ; Caunnamale ; Candacadavuy ; Combalananguy ; Chellanam—S. Sebastian ; Chellanam—S. Jorge ; Politodu ; Truvine (jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic and Archbishop) : Manacudum and Toreur; Pallipuram; Bendurti and Tevere; Tanghi; Arthugal — S. Jorge ; Arthugal—S. Andrew ; Maparicolam and Chetti.

Mararicolam (jurisdiction of the Archbishop and the Vicar-Apostolic).

Vattaluyhal (jurisdiction of the Archbishop).

Pungavu (jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic).

Tumboly (jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic and the Archbishop).

(2) In the actual Vicariate-Apostolic of Quilon the following Christianities : Aravola, Caringolam, Pontorre, Tutur, Waliatowe and Velli—comprehending all the churches, chapels, establish ments, property and income which actually belong to them.

IV

The Diocese of S. Thomas of Meliapore shall be circumscribed thus :

1. —(*a*) The city of S. Thomas of Meliapore with all its Christianities of either jurisdiction, and those of S. Thomas's Mount, churches, chapels and all the dependent establishments ; also Palavaram, Cavelung and Cinglepett—having for its limits towards the East the Gulf of Bengal ; towards the North the roads called Edward Elliot's Road and S. George's Cathedral Road ; towards the West the road leading from Madras to Congeveram up to the river Palar ; towards the South of the river Palar down to the sea—thus forming a continuous diocesan territory.

(*b*) In the actual Vicariate-Apostolic of Madura :

The Christianities of either jurisdiction, comprising all the churches, chapels, and any other dependent establishments lying in the districts of Tanjore, Rigapatam and Manargudy—having

for its limits towards the East the Gulf of Bengal ; towards the North the rivers called Vettar and Vemar ; towards the West and South the boundaries of the Tanjore, Manargudi and Vizagpatam districts—thus constituting a continuous diocesan territory.

2.—(*a*) All the Christianities, churches, chapels and all the dependent establishments with all their property and income in Calcutta and Dacca, actually subject to the Portuguese Vicariate General of Bengal on the Hooghly, which are here mentioned for greater clearness :—

In the city of Calcutta : Boitakanah ; Chinsura ; Bandel in the Hoogly district ; with the dependent schools. In Dacca, the Christianities of Dacca (Our Lady of Piety) ; Tesgao (Our Lady of Rosary) ; Nagory (St. Nicholaus Tolentino) ; Hosnabad (Our Lady of Rosary) with the Christianities which are actually annexed and dependent on it.

(*b*) The Christianities with their churches and chapels, actually and exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, lying in the actual Vicariate-Apostolic of Madura.

With regard to the small villages which are subject to the two jurisdictions, the two Bishops of S. Thomas and of Madura shall equitably propose, subject to the decision of the Holy Father and the Patron, to which of the jurisdictions they shall become subject in future.

V

Although already stated, nevertheless for the sake of greater clearness, and for the purpose of avoiding all doubts in future, it is hereby declared that wherever there is mention of Christianities in this annexure, they are understood to comprehend all the churches, chapels and other establishments which may be annexed or dependent thereon, with all their property and income.

Compensation shall be given for the property of Portugal or of the Vicars-Apostolic in the localities which may be made over by mutual consent. These matters shall be regulated by the Bishops and the respective Vicars-Apostolic, who shall submit them to the Holy See and the Portuguese Government.

Rome, 23rd June 1886.

(*N.B.*—In the concordat double jurisdictions were not entirely eliminated, but the deliniation of the limits of each clearely stated. The Padroado territory was greatly reduced from the Concordat of 1857 in which it was stated to have jurisdiction over all British India. Though several later

adjustments in favour of the Padroado were made, its territory was now effectively limited to the Portuguese territory of Goa, North Canara and the coastal areas to the north, excluding Bombay ; two small strips of territory on the Kerala coast, Cochin and an area near Cape Comorin ; the territory immediately surrounding Mylapore, some of Tanjore, fourteen churches in the Vicariate of Madura, and eight churches in Bengal. The Syro-Malabar Christians were also separated from the Padroado.)

130. PANDITA RAMABAI'S PROPOSALS ON BEHALF OF HIGH-CASTE WIDOWS (1887 A.D.)

Pandita Ramabai , a Brahmin convert to Christianity, became famous for her work on behalf of the women of India. The book from which the following extract is taken was written while she was visiting America four years after having become a Christian. It led to the formation of the Ramabai Association and launched her on her life work. Ramabai, *The High-Caste Hindu Woman*, pp. 113-119.

Is there then no way of helping and educating these high-caste widows ? Can none of these obstacles be removed from her path ? Yes ! They can be removed, and the course which in my judgement can most advantageously be taken in order to succor the widows and the women of India in general, may be stated as follows :—

1. Houses should be opened for the young and high-caste child-widows where they can take shelter without the fear of losing their caste, or of being disturbed in their religious belief and where they may have entire freedom of action as relates to caste-rules, such as cooking of food, etc., provided they do not violate the rules or disturb the peace of the house wherein they have taken up their abode.

2. In order to help them make an honourable and independent living, they should be taught in these houses to be teachers, governesses, nurses and house keepers, and should become skilled in other forms of hand-works, according to their taste and capacity.

3. These houses should be under the superintendence and management of influential Hindu ladies and gentlemen, who should be pledged to make each a happy home and an instructive institution for those who seek its opportunities.

4. The services of well-qualified American ladies as assistants and teachers should be secured in order to afford the occupants of the houses the combined advantage of Eastern and Western civilization and education.

5. Libraries containing the best books on history, science, art, religion and other departments of literature should be established in these houses for the benefit of their inmates, and of other women in their vicinity who may wish to read. Lectureships should also be established in the library, and the lectures should be engaged with the distinct understanding that they do not speak irreverently of any religion or sacred custom while lecturing in that house or library; the lecturers should embrace in their topics, hygiene, geography, elementary science, foreign travel, etc., and the lectures should be designed primarily to open the eyes and ears of those who long have dwelt in the prison-house of ignorance, knowing literally nothing of God's beautiful world.

It is my intention after my return home (which I trust may be within a year from this time) to establish at least one such institution. I am fully aware of the great responsibility the trial—and it may be the failure—will involve; but as some one must make a beginning, I am resolved to try trusting that God, who knows the need of my country-women, will raise up able workers to forward this cause, whether I succeed in it or not. The great majority of my country-people being most bitterly opposed to the education of women, there is little hope of my getting from them either good words or pecuniary aid.

For the present it is useless to reason with high-caste Hindu gentlemen concerning this matter; they only ridicule the proposal or silently ignore it. There are some among them who would certainly approve and would help to carry the idea into effect, but they must first realize its advantages and see its good results. One must have the power of performing miracles to induce this class of men to receive the gospel of society's well-being through the elevation of women. Such a miracle, I have faith to believe will be performed in India before the end of the next ten years, and if this be true, the enterprise will prove self-supporting after that period with only native aid. There is even now a handful of Hindus entertaining progressive ideas who are doing all they can to reform the religious and social customs of Hindustan, and who will, without doubt support my work from the beginning; but they have little with which to forward the cause except their personal services.

An institution of the kind indicated, where the pupils may be supported and the foreign teachers liberally paid for their services, cannot be founded and afterwards kept in a flourishing condition without money. Therefore I invite all good women and men of the United States to give me their help liberally in whatever way they may be able for a period of about ten years; it is my solemn belief that it is the most sacred duty of those who dwell in this highly favoured land to bestow freely talents of whatever kind they may possess to help forward this educational movement.

I venture to make this appeal because I believe that those who regard the preaching of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the heathen so important as to spend in its accomplishment millions of money and hundreds of valuable lives will deem it of the first importance to prepare the way for the spread of the gospel by throwing open the locked doors of the Indian zenanas, which cannot be done safely without giving suitable education to the women, whereby they will be able to bear the dazzling light of the outer world and the perilous blasts of social persecution.

Mothers and fathers, compare the condition of your own sweet darlings at your happy firesides with that of millions of little girls of corresponding age in India, who have already been sacrificed on the unholy altar of an inhuman social custom, and ask yourselves whether you can stop short of doing something to rescue the little widows from the hands of their tormentors. Millions of heart-rending cries are daily rising from within the stony walls of Indian Zenanas ; thousands of child widows are annually dying without a ray of hope to cheer their hearts, and other thousands are daily being crushed under a fearful weight of sin and shame, with no one to prevent their ruin by providing for them a better way.

Will you not, all of you who read this book, think of these, my country-women, and rise, moved by a common impulse, to free them from life-long slavery and infernal misery ? I beg you, all who have any interest in or compassion for your fellow-creatures, let the cry of India's daughters, feeble though it be, reach your ears and stir your hearts. In the name of humanity, in the name of your sacred responsibilities as workers in the cause of humanity, and, above all, in the most holy name of God, I summon you, true women and men of America, to bestow your help quickly, regardless of nation, caste or creed.

131. Mrs. K. C. CHATTERJEE ON ZENANA WORK IN THE PUNJAB (1888 A.D.)

In this report Mrs. K. C. Chatterjee describes the beginnings of systematic zenana work in the Punjab. Mrs. Chatterjee was an outstanding educator associated with the American Presbyterian Mission. She started a Girls' School at Hoshiarpur and was the only Indian woman from the Punjab to testify before the Hunter Commission on Education. *Woman's Work for Woman and our Mission Field*, vol. III, April, 1888, pp. 96-98.

Necessity for this work arises from the peculiar social institutions of this country. These forbid the appearance of women and grown-up girls in public. Amongst Mohammedans the custom is enjoined by their religion, therefore every Mohammedan

woman is bound to obey it. The Hindus have no such religious injunction. But they have learned the customs from Moslems and many of them consider it a part of respectability to observe it. Hindu women visit temples and religious shrines ; they go to their friends and relatives in times of joy and sorrow, but they do not appear in public meetings attended by men. If we want to enlighten women of the upper classes and bring them under Gospel influence, we must do so by going where they can be found. That place is the Zanakhana. They cannot come to us ; we must go to them. This is the principle on which zenana work is founded.

There is another reason why it is necessary. It is to complete the work begun in Girl's schools. The education imparted in these schools is very imperfect. Children attend for a short time and are withdrawn before much substantial good is effected. All Hindu girls are between the ages of seven and twelve, and seldom, if ever, afterwards attend school. They therefore leave school just at the time when their minds begin to develop and think on serious subjects. It is therefore of utmost importance that some means should be found to continue and deepen the impression made in earlier years, and that means is zenana work.

Although the necessity of this form of missionary labour was felt from the beginning, it could not be easily supplied. The people were not prepared for it. They looked upon it with dismay. Besides, there were the prejudices against Christianity to contend with, prejudices shared alike by Hindus and Mohammedans, and so strong at one time as to be deemed almost insuperable. But blessed be God, time has brought a mighty change. Female education began to be appreciated and abhorrence of Christianity became less. The missionaries commenced to be regarded as friends and benefactors to the country. Then began the era of zenana work ...

What is the nature of the work that these ladies and their assistants do in the zenanas ? This may be described as partly educational, partly evangelistic. Those engaged in educational work open small classes attended by pupils belonging to one or more families. The subjects taught are of the most elementary character in one of the vernaculars of the country. English is taught in some classes. Needle or fancy-work is taught to those who desire it. Bible truths are communicated to all out of the Bible itself, Barth's *Scripture History*, *Pilgrim's Progress* or kindred works. Pictures are generally used to illustrate Scripture truths. Hymns and bhajans are sung and taught.

Those who do evangelistic work go from house to house without much system, visiting wherever they find an open door and a willing

ear. After inquiring about the welfare of the members of the family they introduce the message and endeavour to impress it on their hearers by conversation, reading or expounding the Word of God. They also make use of bhajans and pictures.

Of these two forms of zenana labour the former is the most important and best adapted to the present wants of our women. They are sunk in ignorance. To raise them from this degraded state, knowledge as well as Gospel truth is necessary, and both are supplied by the educational system. It aims at the renovation of the entire women, her intellectual, moral and spiritual nature. This form of labour is generally carried on in large cities and towns by missionary ladies themselves. If Bible women take part in this work, they do so under the close and immediate superintendence of the ladies.

The evangelistic work has also its importance and usefulness. It is the only means of reaching the great mass of women who have neither time nor inclination to go through a regular course of instruction. It is also the only way of carrying the Gospel at present to the zenanas of the villages. These are visited in the Punjab, principally by the Bible-women.

How do the people regard zenana work, especially the religious element in it? It is popular with the advanced classes of native society, particularly with the Brahmos and those who have been educated in mission schools. These appreciate female education and do not object to Bible instruction. Referring to them, one of our missionary ladies says: 'We have more calls than can be answered. Were good Native Christian workers only a. lable, our work could be indefinitely extended. We pay nothing to our women; they come of their own free will, and after several lessons are usually sufficiently interested to desire a continuance of them. When we receive a call we always inform the parties that Bible instruction will be the chief feature, and other things only secondary.'

With less enlightened classes the work is still very unpopular. Some of them simply tolerate it; others strongly object to the religious instruction. It is in greater favour in large cities than in small towns. In the latter it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to find entrance into a single real zenana.

What has been the result of zenana work? We have not much to record under this head, yet enough to afford matter for thankfulness and encouragement. The work is still in an initiatory stage. It has been fairly started. The doors of the once jealously guarded apartments have been thrown open to Christian teachers. The women and girls have put themselves under instruction and are

learning with eagerness. Many of them manifest a deep interest in the things of God and His Christ. Some have proceeded so far as to express faith in Christ, but are unable to receive baptism on account of the peculiar trials in their way. A few have overcome all difficulties and declared their faith.

It is difficult to estimate the number of secret believers in the zenanas, or to say how many have openly received baptism. We have no reliable statistics of either. We know there have been several converts in connection with our mission. Only last year there were three most interesting cases of baptism in Lodiana. These ladies were long under instruction and were distinctly the fruit of zenana labours.

132. THE ROYAL COURT JUDGEMENT, TRAVANCORE (1889 A.D.)

The portion of the judgement of the Royal Court of Travancore of 1889 here cited has importat bearing upon the question of the relationship of the Orthodox Church in Kerala with the Patriarch of Antioch. The judgement as a whole related to the controversy which, as a result of this judgement, led to the formation of the independent Mar Thoma Church. *The Majority and Minority Judgements of the Royal Court of Final Appeal, Travancore*, 1883, pp. 115-116.

(Para.) 347. The conclusions we have arrived at on the whole, are that the Respondent's claim is not barred by limitation ; that the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the See of Antioch over the Syrian Church in Travancore has been all along, recognised and acknowledged by the Jacobite Syrian Community and their Metropolitans ; that the exercise of that supreme power consisted in ordaining, either directly or by duly authorised Delegates, Metropolitans from time to time to manage the spiritual matters of the local Church, in sending Morone (Holy oil) to be used in the churches in this country for Baptismal and other purposes and, in general supervision over the spiritual government of the Church ; that the authority of the Patriarch has never extended to the government of the temporalities of the Church which, in this respect has been an independent Church ; that the Metropolitan of the Syrian Jacobite Church in Travancore should be a native of Malabar consecrated by the Patriarch of Antioch, or by his duly authorized Delegates and accepted by the people as their Metropolitan to entitle him to the spiritual and temporal government of the local Church ; that the Respondent had been so consecrated and accepted by the majority of the people and consequently had a perfect right to succeed to the Metropolitanship on the death of Mar Athanasius ;

that the appellant had neither been properly consecrated nor accepted by the majority thereof and therefore had no title to the Dignity and office of Metropolitan ; that the Appellant's possession of the properties of the Church and its appurtenances and the assumption of the office of Metropolitan have been wrongful since the death of Mar Athanasius, the admitted last Metropolitan and Trustee ; that the Appellant should, therefore, surrender the insignia and office of Metropolitan of the Malankarai Syrian Jacobite Church and give up possession of the properties etc., to be administered with two other Trustees as required by the Endowment Deed (Exhibit 111) ; ...

133. THE THIRD DECENNIAL CONFERENCE, BOMBAY (1892-1893 A. D.)

The third all-India Decennial Missionary Conference began in Bombay on 29th December 1892. One notes that the issues discussed at this conference were similar to those considered at the earlier conferences. Papers cited here are found in the *Report of the Third Decennial Missionary Conference held at Bombay*, 1892-93. Vol. I (1) pp. 121-127 ; (2) pp. 247-249 ; Vol. II (3) pp. 602 ff.

1. *Kali Charan Banurji on the Native Church—Its Organization and Self-Support*

That the Missionaries of India, the majority of whom represent Foreign Missions, should, in Conference assembled, embody, in their programme, the conception of 'The Native Church,' is an indication of momentous significance. It signifies, on their part, a readiness to recognise the ideal that the Native Church in India should be *one*, not divided ; *native*, not foreign. Nay, it conveys the promise that, henceforth, they shall not impose by rule, upon the converts they are privileged to gather, the accidents of denominational Christianity, at once divisive and exotic, with which they themselves happen to be identified.

Let us attempt an analysis of the conception, ' Native Church '. Clearly, the Church of England or Church of Scotland, for example, notwithstanding the fact that the membership of each includes natives of India, does not answer to the conception. Neither the one nor the other is the Church in India ; neither to the one nor to the other, is the epithet *native* applicable. The conception, to be realised, demands that Indian Christians should all belong to one typical organisation, and that the organisation should be native, in the sense alike of being worked out by natives of India, and of being cast in a native mould.

As regards the first of these factors, that of unity, few would go the length of challenging its desirableness, at least, in view of the belligerent position we were called upon to occupy. The besetting temptation was, rather, to deny its practicability, if not, as a tentative and transitory prelude or interlude, at all events as a durable finality. But the prayer of unity is allowed to be the prayer of orthodoxy and not of heterodoxy. Besides, the discountenancing insinuation is an audacious encroachment of Christian scepticism upon ground hallowed by a thrice offered prayer of our Lord Himself. At any rate, even supposing that the unity capable of accomplishment were bound to be of brief duration, it might, nevertheless, have a mission to discharge during its span of existence, which to despise, would be to arrogate judgment on a possible plan of Providence.

As regards the second factor, indigenousness as to both agency and type, it would be important to emphasise the distinction between substantive and adjective Christianity. Substantive Christianity, or the principles of Christianity, its vital facts and doctrines based thereon, must ever be above all bending, in consideration of any possible environment. This issue of native or foreign, is absolutely inadmissible, when it is in the question. But adjective Christianity, or the procedure to be adopted with a view to ensure the conservation of Christian truth, where accepted, and its progression, where still in abeyance, need not be, had better not be, a hard and fast system. The very fact, that so many sects are recognised within the pale of Christendom, argues that orthodoxy does recognise the distinction. Substantive Christianity has been stereotyped ; adjective Christianity has not been. All that is claimed for the Native Church in India, is, adjective Christianity through its own agents, and in harmony with its own environment...

... in this view of things, Foreign Churches should simply guard the substantive Christianity of their converts, and while commending to them the importance of setting about the development of an adjective Christianity, should leave them, in the mean time, free to make their start with a type of adjective Christianity, the simplicity of which was commensurate with their infantine stage. The initial condition, then, of the organisation of the Native Church is, that Foreign Churches should, in the exercise of self-denial, refrain from imposing their adjective Christianity, by rule, on their particular converts. It is clearly the interest of each Church to secure that there might be a chance for Indian Christians as a body to grow into its organisation, and where there is faith in its excellence, there is no reason why there should not be patient waiting for such a consummation...

We come now to the question of self-support. The conception of self-support has unfortunately been reduced to a question of

rupees. A self-supporting congregation is understood to mean, a congregation which found the money required for the support of its pastor. It were better to include in the conception, the capability of finding, within itself, the pastor, and we would add, the missionaries, to be supported. Before a congregation is declared self-supporting, it should be possible for it to find, within itself, both men qualified to sustain and propagate Church life, and money sufficient to provide for their support. This enlarged view of self-support has an important bearing on the success of the problem in its more limited acceptation. Let us inquire into the causes which have hitherto frustrated, for the most part, a consummation so devoutly desired, even that of congregations find adequate support for properly qualified pastors. Here, as in the matter of organization, Foreign Churches have fallen into the error of expecting the goal they have reached for themselves, to be the starting point with congregations in this country. Their language to the congregations founded by them has been : you must have a pastor on the salary we fix for him ; so set to work at once, find a pastor, pay him as we propose, and declare yourselves self-supporting. Now, there may be no one in the congregation qualified, by himself, to overtake all the duties and responsibilities of the pastorate. The proper inference to draw from this position of affairs would be, that the congregation was not ripe yet for the economy of the one-man ministry. A believer in the divine doctrine of the fullness of time, submissive to the indications of Providence, would await in patience for the time when a pastor is raised in the congregation, and in the mean time, distribute the pastoral functions among a number, all within the congregation, who though individually unequal to the entire requirement, might collectively be able to over-take the whole duty. If, however, whether the one-man pastor was forthcoming or not, an appointment must be made to the pastorate, the congregation could not very well be expected to realize its responsibility in the direction of self-support. Indian Christians are, doubtless, poor, but the real drawback is not their poverty so much, as a lurking feeling, which may not always rise to consciousness, that they might, to greater purpose, spend their substance in other channels of Christian activity, than in the maintenance of a form without the substance, necessitated by the demands of a finished machinery, bodily imported into the country. Any attempt to force on the man, must fail to force on the money. God's plan of work knows of no anomalous discrepancies...

2. *H. Martyn Clark on the Jesuit Advance*

I have now said enough to show you the nature of work done by the Romanists, and the methods by which it is carried on. The weapons of their warfare are carnal, intensely so. They neither

preach, nor teach, nor do they distribute the Word of God. Popery, I found on personal enquiry, had not even penetrated skin deep into the perverts in the Punjab. The liturgical services and glories of Mary were neither understood nor appreciated. Thus I found a Christian who had been inclined to join the Papists, but was disgusted to find they prayed to Mary, 'who had crumbled into dust long ago.' Nor is he better pleased with their ritual or their way of worship, which he tersely described thus: 'The father stood at a table and a man stood behind holding the shirts of his robe. Then the father rang a bell and poured wine into a cup and drank it all himself and gave nobody else any'—that was all the idea the celebration of the Mass conveyed to him.

The practical question still remains: how is the Romanist onset to be met? A defensive war is usually a losing war. I counsel strongly that we should not wait to be attacked, but, wherever Romanists are, should persistently, strenuously, and most unflinchingly carry the war into the enemy's camp.

Good concise handbooks on Romanism and tracts on it and its teaching should be prepared and published, for the use of pastors, students, teachers and for distribution. Public lectures, popular in character, concerning Romanism and its history and its doings are very valuable, the more so if they be abundantly illustrated. Carry them with the fire of the magic lantern as well as the Sword of the Spirit. Much is to be gained by enlightening the heathen and Mohammedans concerning Papists and their doings. Thus, in the Punjab, when the Romanist tide was at its flood in the district, I found the non-Christians were like Gallio caring for none of these things, but on the whole they much preferred their old friends the Protestant Missionaries, who did not drink, were kind friends, could understand them and make themselves understood, and who never were alone with women or had them confess to them.

There are many other ways in which any one with a quantum of the wisdom of the serpant can checkmate the Papists without compromising in the slightest the innocency of the dove. Into these I will not here enter in detail.

Amongst measures defensive the first place must be given to the systematic teaching of the Word of God concerning the principles of Christian life and faith, and to very definite teaching concerning the evils and errors of Popery. The practice of committing a selection of texts on such subjects to memory is highly to be recommended.

As regards further measures, missionaries elsewhere should take a leaf out of the book of their Punjab brethren. In view of

the Romanist invasion, the Church Missionary Society, American Presbyterian Mission, U.P. Church of America, Church of Scotland and the Baptist Mission, in short every Society at work in Punjab, with the exception of the S.P.G., appointed delegates to confer and to take common action concerning this matter.

The delegates met and devised a common plan of attack and defence which has been accepted by these missions. In the course of their valuable report they laid down rules for common guidance concerning candidates for Baptism, Teaching, Inter-communion, Inter-Mission Discipline, Work in Common, Social Advancement, Councils, Buildings, etc.

We have scarcely a pervert left now in the Punjab. Those who left have almost all come back again. Similar plans in other parts of the land would, in likelyhood, give equally blessed results.

The Romanist lion came roaring to devour us. Because of his coming, our Punjab Missions were drawn the closer together, thus were we enabled not only to rend the devourer, but also to eat out of him the sweet honey of a closer union and a more living and intelligent sympathy with one another. Why should not brethren elsewhere have the like happy experience ?

Let us be united, have right views on the subject, have a defined policy on preparation and of attack, let us steadily pursue it before the enemy is on us, and let all our teaching be of the law and testimony — so shall we be ready, and by God's blessing it will be ours not only to bring men out of the darkness of heathenism and Mohammedanism into the light of God, but it will be ours also to keep them in the pure faith, nurture and admonition of our Lord, who will Himself keep them and us from falling, and will present them and us one day at His coming, blameless and exceeding joy. A last word—it is only Protestant apathy and disunion that makes Romanism the least bit formidable.

3. *Bishop Thoburn on Missionary Comity*

The policy of assigning a separate field to each society is perfectly defensible if the object sought is solely that of making a proper division of labour, and at the same time occupying as much territory as possible ... Many practical objections to such a policy have been brought to light in the progress of the work, some of which may be briefly stated :

1. These boundary lines are very apt to create the difficulty which they are intended to guard against. So, far from keeping the missionaries apart, and thus preventing causes of disagreement,

the very line itself becomes a fruitful source of contention. At the last Missionary Conference in London one brother with admirable candour admitted that his mission had suffered more trouble from disputes about boundary lines than from any other question. A boundary line is often a very shifting quantity, and it is nearly impossible to prevent contentions when dealing with vast regions in which there is no actual occupancy, while there is nearly always a strange, and not very reasonable, eagerness to grasp as wide a territory as possible...

2. These territorial allotments are unfair to those who come latest to the mission field. We must remember that Missionary Societies are constantly multiplying, that every few years a new society appears in such a field as India, and that its agents will naturally look around for the most suitable sphere of labour within their reach. It must puzzle them not a little to be told when they reach Bombay, that very little of India is open to them, that all the centres of influence have been occupied and are practically closed against them, and that they must seek a field which thus far has been neglected by their more fortunate brethren who came earlier upon the scene...

3. The custom has been for the agents of each society to decide for themselves the extent of the field which they are to occupy. Some of them have made their selection with wisdom, while others have chosen fields which they had no reasonable prospect of fully occupying for years, if not centuries, to come. Experience has proved that it is nearly impossible to persuade such men that they are grasping at more than they can possibly reach, and hence we have inequalities of the most singular kind among what are called the separate mission districts of India...

4. In its practical application this rule has tended to shut out the Gospel from vast regions where it would otherwise have penetrated. It will seem incredible to those in England and America, who so earnestly advocate this policy, and yet it is a simple fact with which many of us in India are painfully familiar, that good men often object most strenuously to the advent of missionaries of other socities into regions where they themselves are not able to give the Gospel to the people.

5. The word 'occupy' is used in so flexible a way that it often misrepresents the facts. For instance, a good man, a very good man once wrote to a brother missionary that he had occupied a district containing a million of people, and hoped the brother would not enter it. The occupation consisted in sending a native preacher to live in a small town, and preach in its bazaars and the surrounding villages. Had there been any plan for extension, or

any resources to make extension possible, this might have been called an occupation in part, but many years have since passed without any vigorous attempt being made to occupy the field. A district is not occupied because a missionary station has been established within its borders. Missionaries who have lived in their station for years have been startled to find people living within a few miles of their doors who had never heard the name of Jesus Christ. What, then, shall we say of the million, or perhaps two millions, who live in other parts of the so-called 'occupied' district ?...

6. This policy annoys and harasses men who love unity and concord, and seek peace and pursue it, and yet who are constantly put in the wrong by accusations of interference with the work of others. Any man with the mind and heart which a true preacher ought to have, cannot but feel grieved and pained when accused unjustly of hindering his Master's work by marring the labours of Christian brethren. Charges of this kind are made far too freely, and very often without a shadow of just cause...

7. This rule ignores the fact that within a given field there may be different races, or castes or languages, and that one society may not be able, or may not choose, to do all the work to be done. For instance, Santhals and Bengali people may live side by side. One missionary may wish to work for the one people and another for the other. If the society in occupancy will do all the work, well, and good; let no one interfere with its agents. But if a tribe or a caste, or a separate people of any kind, are wholly neglected, outside people should certainly be permitted to go to these neglected people with the Gospel...

8. The rule ignores the freedom of the converts. As generally interpreted, it assumes that all natives who become Christians within a given area, shall be assigned to the missionary working within the area in question. It is taken for granted that the converts will do as they are told, but as a matter of fact they are by no means always willing to obey such directions. Any one who has observed the course of events in other countries, ought to be wiser than to expect that such a policy could be enforced in a country like India. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, sincere converts will wish to follow those who first bring them to Christ, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they will do better under the care of these persons than under any others...

9. This policy interferes with the normal progress of the Gospel. We ought to look forward to the time when Christianity will free itself from the narrow limits of the mission house and mission agencies, and begins to advance over the country from

heart to heart and from village to village, by a steady process of normal growth. Whenever it becomes a living indigenous Christianity, it will advance in this way. In some places we see indications of such advance for which we ought to be devoutly thankful...

10. This policy ignores the special call which the Holy Spirit so often gives to the Christian preacher. Paul and Silas were Spirit-led, and they planted permanent churches where they preached. If India is ever brought to Christ, many succesors to these men will yet appear. Could such men work, in India, as Paul worked? It is constantly said that Paul never built on other men's foundation, but this policy forbids a man to dig for his own foundation...

II. Let us in the next place glance briefly at the proposed code of intermissional rules. Such a code, if agreed upon with practical unanimity by all the Societies interested, would no doubt be of value as a guide to young missionaries, and it would also greatly influence public opinion, which in the long run will be found the chief factor in settling points in controversy. But it is nearly certain that any attempt to give such rules the force of laws will end in failure, and probably aggravate the evils which they are intended to prevent...

III. If, then, we are to have no code of rules and no mission boundaries, can nothing at all be done to promote a proper spirit of comity among missionaries? Beyond all doubt something can be done, but not on the old lines.

1. First of all, there should be a radical change of policy. We should for ever discard the notion that missionaries cannot dwell together in love and harmony. Instead of saying, How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell apart in *comity*, let us boldly and firmly maintain the ground that it is a good and pleasant thing for brethren to dwell and work together in *amity*. As a matter of fact, we all have reasons to know that brethren of different societies who live and work side by side have fewer differences than those who live far apart. We ought to be ashamed to proclaim to the world that we cannot work side by side. I saw Christians of two societies last year in a common assembly day after day, taking counsel together, and waiting on God together, and it was impossible to distinguish between them. How much better this than to keep them separated as if they belonged to separate castes! We need not plant our stations in the same towns for the mere sake of exhibiting our fraternal love, but let us no longer shun one another's presence, and thus ostentatiously proclaim to the world that we cannot live together.

2. As far as possible, both missionaries and converts should co-operate in their common work, especially in meetings for the promotion of their spiritual life. Instead of having a committee of reference for the settlement of disputes, two or more societies might have a joint committee for the promotion of their mutual interests...

3. For the correction of unfraternal conduct, and of all conduct which may be hurtful to our common cause, we must depend chiefly on the power of public opinion, with now and then a reference to the home authorities. We may as well assume, once for all, that offences of some kind will come...

4. But, after all, the question of peace and concord must depend very largely upon the character of individual missionaries... A Christian gentleman will not offend in any of the following particulars. (*a*) He will not meddle in a neighbour's dispute... (*b*) He will not receive an ex-communicated Christian, unless it be after very satisfatory repentance and reformation. (*c*) He will not enter a field where another missionary is successfully working and try to appropriate his harvest or seize his opportunities ...

Christian workers in the home-lands have quietly settled down to their several tasks, with the accepted policy that they must live, and love, labour, side by side, and surely we in India can do the same. It is the best policy, because it is the only possible policy. No other has ever proved successful among men who enjoy the full measure of civil and religious freedom which is rapidly becoming the heritage of the whole wide world. Let us accept the comity which Christians in England and America accept, and therewith be content.

134. SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON CHRISTIANITY (1893-1894 A.D.)

Swami Vivekananda's severe criticism of Christianity in general and on Christian missions in India in particular had extensive influence in both the West and India. He internationalized the Hindu criticism of missionary activity, and received a more serious hearing than had any other Indian. The first extract is from his address before the Parliament of Religions that was held in Chicago in 1893. It was first published in *The Chicago Tribune* and reproduced in the Indian newspaper, *The Indian Mirror*, of 8th December 1893. It is cited in Sankari Prasad Basu and Sunil Bihari Ghosh, eds., *Vivekananda in Indian Newspapers*, p. 7. The second extract is from a talk given by Vivekananda in Detroit on 11th March 1894, as reported in the *Detroit Free Press*. Cited in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* (1971 edition), vol. VIII, pp. 214-219. The third extract is from Vivekanand's book *The East and the West* (6th Edition, 1963), pp. 92-93.

1. *Address to the Parliament of Religions*

Christians must always be ready for good criticism, and I hardly think that you will care if I make a little criticism. You, Christians, who are so fond of sending out Missionaries to save the souls of the heathen, why do you not try to save their bodies from starvation? In India during the terrible famines thousands died from hunger, yet you, Christians, did nothing. You erect churches all through India, but the crying evil in the East is not religion—they have religion enough—but it is bread that these suffering millions of burning India cry out for with parched throats. They ask us for bread, but we give them stones. It is an insult to a starving people to offer them religion; it is an insult to a starving man to teach him metaphysics. In India a priest that preaches for money would lose caste, and be spat upon by the people. I came here to seek aid for my impoverished people, and I fully realized how difficult it was to get help for heathens from Christians in a Christian land...

2. *On Missionaries in India*

...The first invaders of India, the Aryans, did not try to exterminate the population of India as the Christians did when they went into a new land, but the endeavour was made to elevate persons of brutish habits. The Spaniards thought that their God commanded them to kill and murder and to tear down heathen temples. The Buddhists had a tooth a foot long, which belonged to their Prophet, and the Spaniards threw it into the sea, killed a few thousand persons, and converted a few scores. The Portuguese came to Western India. The Hindus have a belief in the Trinity and had a temple dedicated to their sacred belief. The invaders looked at the temple and said it was a creation of the devil; and so they brought their cannon to bear upon the wonderful structure and destroyed a portion of it. But the invaders were driven out of the country by the enraged population. The early missionaries tried to get hold of the land, and in their effort to secure a foot-hold by force, they killed many people and converted a number. Some of them became Christians to save their lives. Ninety-nine per cent of the Christians converted by the Portuguese sword were compelled to be so, and they said, 'We do not believe in Christianity, but we are forced to call ourselves Christians.' But Catholic Christianity soon relapsed.

The East India Company got possession of a part of India with the idea of making hay while the sun shone. They kept the missionaries away. The Hindus were the first to welcome the

missionaries, not the Englishmen who were engaged in trade. I have great admiration for some of the first missionaries of the later period, who were true servants of Jesus and did not vilify the people or spread vile falsehoods about them. They were gentle, kindly men. When Englishmen became masters of India, the missionary enterprise began to become stagnant, a condition which characterises the missionary efforts in India today. Dr. Long, an early missionary, stood by the people. He translated a Hindu drama describing the evils perpetrated in India by indigo-planters, and what was the result? He was placed in jail by the English. Such missionaries were of benefit to the country, but they have passed away. The Suez Canal opened up a number of evils.

Now goes the missionary, a married man, who is hampered because he is married. The missionary knows nothing about the people, he cannot speak the language, so he invariably settles in the little white colony. He is forced to do this because he is married. Were he not married, he could go among the people and sleep on the ground if necessary. So he goes to India to seek company for his wife and children. He stays among the English-speaking people. The great heart of India is today absolutely untouched by missionary effort. Most of the missionaries are incompetent. I have not met a single missionary who understands Sanskrit. How can a man absolutely ignorant of the people and their traditions, get into sympathy with them? I do not mean any offence, but Christians send men as missionaries, who are not persons of ability. It is sad to see money spent to make converts when no real results of a satisfactory nature are reached.

Those who are converted, are the few who make a sort of living by hanging round the missionaries. The converts who are not kept in service in India, cease to be converts. That is about the entire matter in a nutshell. As to the way of converting, it is absolutely absurd. The money the missionaries bring is accepted. The colleges founded by the missionaries are all right, so far as the education is concerned. But with religion it is different. The Hindu is acute; he takes the bait but avoids the hook! It is wonderful how tolerant the people are. A missionary once said, 'That is the worst of the whole business. People who are self-complacent can never be converted.'

As regards the lady missionaries, they go into certain houses, get four shillings a month, teach them something of the Bible, and show them how to knit. The girls of India will never be converted. Atheism and scepticism at home is what is pushing the missionary into other lands. When I came into this country I was surprised to meet so many liberal men and women. But after the Parliament of Religions a great Presbyterian paper came out

and gave me the benefit of a seething article. This the editor called enthusiasm. The missionaries do not and cannot throw off nationality—they are not broad enough—and so they accomplish nothing in the way of converting, although they may have a nice sociable time among themselves. India requires help from Christ, but not from the anti-christ ; these men are not Christ like. They do not act like Christ ; they are married and come over and settle down comfortably and make a fair livelihood. Christ and his disciples would accomplish much good in India, just as many of the Hindu saints do ; but these men are not of that sacred character. The Hindus would welcome the Christ of the Christian gladly, because his life was holy and beautiful; but they cannot and will not receive the narrow utterances of the ignorant, hypocritical, or self-deceiving men.

Men are different. If they were not, the mentality of the world would be degraded. If there were not different religions, no religion would survive. The Christian requires his religion ; the Hindu needs his own creed. All religions have struggled against one another for years. Those which were founded on a book, still stand. Why could not the Christians convert the Jews? Why could they not make the Persians Christians? Why could they not convert Mohammedans? Why cannot any impression be made upon China and Japan? Budhism, the first missionary religion, numbers double the number of converts of any other religion, and they did not use the sword. The Mohammedans used the greatest violence. They number the least of the three great missionary religions. The Mohammedans have had their day. Every day you read of Christian nations acquiring land by bloodshed. What missionaries preach against this? Why should the most blood-thirsty nations exalt an alleged religion which is not the religion of Christ? The Jews and the Arabs were the fathers of Christianity, and how they have been persecuted by the Christians ! The Christians have been weighed in the balance in India and have been found wanting. I do not mean to be unkind, but I want to show the Christians how they look in others' eyes. The missionaries who preach the burning pit are regarded with horror. The Mohammedans rolled wave after wave over India waving the sword, and today where are they?

The furtherest that all religions can see is the existence of a spiritual entity. So no religion can teach beyond that point. In every religion there is the essential truth and non-essential casket in which this jewel lies. Believing in the Jewish book or in the Hindu book is non-essential. Circumstances change ; the receptacle is different ; but the central truth remains. The essentials being the same, the educated people of every community retain the essentials. If you ask a Christian what his essentials are, he should

reply, 'The teachings of Lord Jesus.' Much of the rest is nonsense. But the nonsensical part is right; it forms the receptacle. The shell of the oyster is not attractive, but the pearl is within it. The Hindu will never attack the life of Jesus; he reverences the Sermon on the Mount. But how many Christians know or have heard of the teachings of the Hindu holy men? They remain in a fool's paradise. Before a small fraction of the world was converted, Christianity has divided into many creeds. That is the law of nature. Why take a single instrument from the great religious orchestra of the earth? Let the grand symphony go on. Be pure. Give up superstition and see the wonderful harmony of nature. Superstition gets the better of religion. All the religions are good, since the essentials are the same. Each man should have the perfect exercise of his individuality, but these individualities form a perfect whole. This marvellous condition is already in existence. Each creed has something to add to the wonderful structure.

I pity the Hindu who does not see the beauty in Jesus Christ's character. I pity the Christian who does not reverence the Hindu Christ. The more a man sees of himself, the less he sees of his neighbours. Those that go about converting, who are very busy saving the souls of others, in many instances forget their own souls. I was asked by a lady why the women of India were not more elevated. It is in a great degree owing to the barbarous invaders through different ages; it is partly due to the people of India themselves. But our women are any day better than the ladies of this country who are devotees of novels and balls. Where is the spirituality one could expect in a country which is so boastful of its civilisation? I have not found it. 'Here' and 'hereafter' are words to frighten children. It is all 'here'. To live and move in God—even here, even in this body! All self should go out; all superstition should be banished. Such men live in India. Where are such in this country? Your preachers speak against 'dreamers'. The people of this country would be better off if there were more 'dreamers'. If a man here followed literally the instruction of his Lord, he would be called a fanatic. There is a good deal of difference between dreaming and the brag of the nineteenth century. The bees look for the flowers. Open the lotus! The whole world is full of God and not sin. Let us help each other. Let us love each other. A beautiful prayer of the Budhist is: I bow down to all saints; I bow down to all the prophets; I bow down to all holy men and women all over the world!

3. *On Christianity*

Now compare the first three centuries of the quick spread of the civilisation of Islam with the corresponding period of Christianity. Chrisianity, during the first three centuries, was not

even successful in making itself known to the world ; and since the day when the sword of Constantine made a place for it in his kingdom, what support has Christianity ever lent to the spread of civilisation, either spiritual or secular? What reward did the Christian religion offer to that European Pandit who sought to prove for the first time that the Earth is a revolving planet? What scientist has ever been hailed with approval and enthusiasm by the Christian Church? Can the literature of the Christian flock consistently meet the requirements of legal jurisprudence, civil or criminal, or of arts and trade policies? Even now the 'Church' does not sanction the diffusion of profane literature. Is it possible, still, for a man who has penetrated deep into modern learning and science to be an absolutely sincere Christian? In the New Testament there is no covert or overt praise of any arts and sciences. But there is scarcely any science or branch of art that is not sanctioned and held up for encouragement directly, in the Koran, or in the many passages of the Hadis, the traditional sayings of Mohammed. The greatest thinkers of Europe—Voltaire, Darwin, Buchner, Flammarion, Victor Hugo, and a host of others like them —are in the present times denounced by Christianity and are victims of the vituperative tongues of its orthodox community. On the other hand, Islam regards such people to be believers in the existence of God, but only wanting in faith in the Prophet. Let there be a searching investigation into the respective merits of the two religions as regards their helpfulness, or the throwing of obstacles in the path of progress, and it will be seen that wherever Islam has gone, there it has preserved the aboriginal inhabitants—there those races still exist, their language and their nationality abide even to the present day.

Where can Christianity show such an achievement? Where are, today, the Arabs of Spain, and the aboriginal races of America? What treatment are the Christians according to the European Jews? With the single exception of charitable organisations, no other line of work in Europe is in harmony with the teachings of the Gospel. Whatever heights of progress Europe has attained, every one of them has been gained by its revolt against Christianity—by its rising against the Gospel. If Christianity had its old paramount sway in Europe today, it would have lighted the fire of the Inquisition against such modern scientists as Pasteur and Koch, and burnt Darwin and others of his school at the stake. In modern Europe, Christianity and civilisation are two different things. Civilisation has now girded up her loins to destroy her old enemy, Christianity, to overthrow the clergy, and to wring educational and charitable institutions from their hands. But for the ignorance-ridden rustic masses, Christianity would never have been able for a moment to support its present despised existence, and would have been pulled out by its roots ; for the urban

poor are, even now, enemies of the Christian Church ! Now compare this with Islam. In the Mohammedan countries, all the ordinances are firmly established upon the Islamic religion, and its own preachers are greatly venerated by all the officials of the State, and teachers of other religions also are respected.

135. THE GAUHATI POLICY (1895 A.D.)

The 'Gauhati Policy' was devised by American Baptist missionaries working the Gauhati field of the Assam Mission as practical means of implementing the much talked about three-self formula. Largely the work of C. E. Burdette, it is especially noteworthy for its views on the proper relationship between missionaries and the Indian churches. C. E. Burdette in the *Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report*, 1895, pp. 26-29, Cited in F. S. Downs, *The Mighty Works of God*, pp. 189-191.

This aim (of the Gauhati policy) ... is not specifically and simply the conversion of sinners ; neither is it anything so vague as the conversion of the world. And whatever it is, it embraces more than the conversion of souls, for it must include the building of them up into a Christian society. Adopting the language of another ... it sets forth this as the true aim of missions,— 'the development of native churches with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending system'...

In such a field as this, which has reached its present stage of progress after more than fifty years of mission effort and influence, we not only conceive of it as very important to do directly all we can to help forward the right development of these existing churches, and others that may spring up in connection with them ; but, more than this, we conceive it to be incumbent on us not to do that which would tend to hinder or thwart their truest development. And instead of being content to look to some far-off future day for the 'ultimate' settlement of these churches on a self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending basis ; we regard this ultimate end as a very present and progressively attainable end ; and are constrained to bend our energies to its quickest and fullest possible attainment, confident that in this way we are doing most to hasten the day when in all parts of our large District the way of the Lord shall be fully known...

While striving to recognize to the full our relation to the native Christians as their brethren, and members with them of the body of Christ, and as fellow-servants with them of our one Lord and

Master, we yet deem it important in our official relation to their churches and their community of churches, we should be known not as the party in which the chief responsibility rests, and not even as co-partners or another party of workers, doing in our way and in our measure a part of the Lord's work in this field, while they do in their way and their measure some portion of the one great work.

We believe it is by throwing ourselves into the work, both in the way of direct preaching and personal work among the heathen, as well as in assisting and counselling, training, guiding and encouraging, the native Christians,—in short, by putting ourselves into *their* work, and refusing to put mission money into it, that we can best lead the Christians in this field to look upon the whole work as essentially their own, a work the responsibilities of which rest and should rest on themselves...

In short, aside from the keeping up of our mission compound with its bungalows, etc., and aside from the necessary expense of missions tours outside the immediate region occupied by the Christians, in which they themselves provide for the free transport of our luggage from village to village, we aim to carry on our mission work—our work of helping the churches—practically without the use of mission money.

136. BRAHMABANDHAB UPADHYAY ON HINDUISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO CHRISTIANITY (1897 A.D.)

Brahmabandhab Upandhyay has been described as a Hindu sannyasi, a Roman Catholic, and a nationalist. In this early writing he discusses the imperative for making Hindu philosophy 'the handmaid of Christianity', but he has not yet worked out the theological system for which he was to become so well known. From Animananda, *The Blade*. pp. 67-78 Cited in Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Sources of India Tradition*, pp. 734-735.

Christianity has again after a long period come in contact with a philosophy which, though it may contain more errors—because the Hindu mind is synthetic and speculative—still unquestionably soars higher than her Western sister. Shall we, Catholics of India, now... (let Hindus make) it their weapon against Christianity or shall we look upon it in the same way as St. Thomas looked upon the Aristotelian system? We are of (the) opinion that attempts should be made to win over Hindu philosophy to the service of Christianity as Greek philosophy was won over in the Middle Ages.

We have no definite idea as regards the *modus operandi* of making Hindu philosophy the handmaid of Christianity. The task is difficult and beset with many dangers. But we have a conviction and it is growing day by day that the Catholic Church will find it hard to conquer India unless she makes Hindu philosophy hew wood and draw water for her. The more we meditate on the cogitations of Hindu philosophy concerning the Supreme Being, on its marvelous but fruitless effort to penetrate into His inner nature... the more light is thrown upon the ever-mysterious Christian doctrine of the one God, one yet multiple, absolute yet related within himself, discovering in it a new fitness to appease the noblest cravings of man and satisfy the demands of the loftiest intellect...

The development of the Christian religion has not come to an end. It will grow, blossom and fructify till the end of time. Indian soil is humid and its humidity will make the ever-new Christian revelation put forth newer harmonies and newer beauties revealing more clearly the invincible integrity of the Universal Faith deposited in the Church by the Apostles of Jesus Christ. The Hindu mind and heart, coming under the dominion of the One, Holy, Apostolic and Catholic Church, will sing a new canticle which wills fill the earth with sweetness from end to end.

137. BRAHMABANDHAB UPADHYAY ON INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA (1897 A.D.)

Brahmabandhab Upadhyay is perhaps best known for his contribution to Indian Christian theology. But he was also notable for his uncompromising nationalism at a time when most Indian Christians believed British rule was providential. In this passage he describes his vision of an independent India. From Animananda, *The Blade*, pp. 136-137 & 170-171. Cited in Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 736-738.

I swear by the moon and the sun that I have heard in my heart of hearts this message of freedom. As the tree in winter gets a new life with the touch of the breeze of spring, as you feel joy at the return of love, as the heart of a hero dances to the call of the trumpet of war so a feeling has throbbed in my heart.

But independence will mean both freedom from our slave complex and freedom from gerrymandering politics.

With the spread of English rule and culture, India lost her own idea of civilization. Our educated classes think as they have been taught by their Firinghi masters. Our minds have been conquered.

We have become slaves. The faith in our own culture and the love for things Indian are gone. India will reach Swaraj the day she will again have a faith in herself. Ramakrishna had gone in that line. So did Bamkim. So did Vivekananda. The whole mass of our people must now be made to appreciate things Indian and to return to our ancient way. That is Swadesh as opposed to Bidesh.

I see the fort of Swaraj built in various places. There shall be no connection with the foreigner. Those forts will be purified by the incense of sacrifice, resounding with the cry of victory, filled to overflowing with corn and grain.

Foreigners will not enter there. There we shall be our own masters, from the Thakurghar to the cowshed. All our laws will be observed there, our own Varna-Asram. Let the Englishman be like the *Chaukidar* or *Jamadar*, like the watching dog at the door : 'If the dog enters your kitchen you break the cooking pot and chase him out'. Outside this, our own Jurisdiction, we shall observe the laws of the Firinghi for fear of assault and we shall pay the taxes. But if he were to trespass on our Godgiven rights, woe betide him. We shall give thrashing...

We have said over and over again that we are not Swadeshi only so far as salt and sugar are concerned. Our aspirations are higher than the Himalayas. Our pain is as intense as if we had a volcano in us. What we want is the emancipation of India. Our aim is that India may be free, that the stranger may be driven from our homes, that the continuity of the learning, the civilization and the system of the rishis may be preserved. We have often heard the voice from heaven : Selfish men ! We have not entered the lists to pay the mudi (grocer).

First free the Mother from bondage, then seek your own deliverance. The fire of desire has been kindled within our bosom. We do not know whence. Heaven we do not want. Deliverance we seek not. O Mother ! let us be born again and again in India till your chains fall off. First let the Mother be free, and then shall come our own release from the worldly bonds. This is no mere child's play. O Feringhi[sic], here I am with my neck outsretched—offer it up as a sacrifice. You will see, I shall again be born in the land of Bengal and shall cause much more serious confusion. Can you intimidate us ? Our power is more than human. It is divine. We have heard the voice telling us that the period of India's suffering is about to close, that the day of her deliverance is near at hand. It is because we have heard the voice that we have left our forest-home and came to town. Your overweening pride is due to your possessing a few cannon and guns. Just see to what

plight you are reduced. You imagine that by causing a *Kabulyat* of loyalty to be written, you will drive us to a corner. But the signatories of that document are nonentities. We have all the advantages of the ancient greatness of India on our side. We are immortal. If you are wise, you should help towards the attainment of deliverance by India. Otherwise come, let us descend into the arena of war. We hereby summon you to battle. See what a mighty contest presently begins all over the country. The sons of the Mother are preparing themselves. All the arms—fiery (Agneya), watery (Varuna), airy (Vayabya)—in her vaults, are being polished. Hark, the flapping of the fourfold arms of the Mother? Are we afraid of your cannon and guns? Arm brothers, arm! The day of deliverance is near. We have heard the voice and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede.

138. RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOUTH INDIA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, MADRAS (1900 A.D.)

The South India Missionary Conference held at Madras on 2-5 January, 1900, was one of the more important of the conferences of this type. Its resolutions, some of which are reproduced here, had far ranging influence. Its pattern of preparation and organisation as a 'work conference' was widely copied in subsequent missionary and ecumenical meetings. *Report of the South India Missionary Conference Held at Madras*, 1900, pp. 9 ff., pp. 16 ff., and pp. 70. ff.

Resolutions on the Native Church

Resolution I

This Conference would re-emphasize the opinion that congregations of long-standing should support their own pastors, and that in other congregations some arrangements should be made for the partial fulfilment of this duty. The Conference cannot enter into the details of arrangements necessary for the purpose, as these must largely depend on the constitution and polity of the Church with which the Mission is connected; but it believes that there will be no difficulty in each Missionary Society's framing rules and regulations which, if differing in details, will yet be based on the same general principles and to work in harmony with them. Whilst the Conference cannot lay down specific rules or attempt to frame a Native Church constitution, it does consider that, as a general rule, an ordained Pastor should not be placed over a congregation which does not give a fair proportion of his salary.

Resolution II

The Conference cannot lay down any rule as regards the salaries of Pastors, but considers it to be eminently desirable that, except under very peculiar circumstances, the salary of a Pastor should bear some reasonable proportion to the income of the people to whom he ministers. In village congregations this may be more easily done than in towns and large centres, where circumstances are exceptional; but allowing for such cases, the Conference recommends the general principle as being the only sound one for the self-support of the Pastorate by the Native Church.

Resolution III

The Conference strongly recommends, in order to dissociate in the minds of the people any connection between Missionary Society and the support of Pastors, that all Pastors should be paid through some office-bearer of the Church other than the representative of the Missionary Society. Where the support of the Pastor is not solely dependent on the congregation to which he ministers, or when he does not draw his salary direct from it, a group of congregations should form a common sustentation fund, to which, if needed, the Missionary Society should for a time give an annually decreasing grant, and over which for some years, at least, it should exercise some general control. The responsible managers of the sustentation fund should appoint a treasurer to carry out its financial operations. In this way the pecuniary link between the Missionary Society and the Pastor will be broken and he will learn to look to his own organised Church body for support.

Resolution IV

The Conference recommends that, as more responsibility will then be placed upon Pastors and people, in each Mission a well organised system be established by which the Christian laity in the congregations can be trained to take more interest in the affairs of the Church, and that, as they show fitness for it, the control of the Missionary Society should become less and less. Even where, at present, such men are not to be found, it should be considered an important point of a Missionary's duty to gather the lay members of the congregations together, and, whilst retaining all needful control, to train them as far as possible in habits of administration. An energetic man may find it far easier to do all things himself, but a beginning must be made sometime and in the opinion of this Conference should not now be delayed in any congregation however humble.

Resolution V

The Conference, having in view the greatness of the work yet to be done in the evangelization of the non-christistian people of India, recommends all Missionary Societies to make greater efforts towards the self-support of the Native Pastorate, thus setting free funds much needed for the extension of missionary operatio..s. In order that this may be carried into effect, the Conference considers that the various Societies should come to some common agreement as to the policy to be pursued, and, having arrived at that, should insist on their representatives in India carrying it out. It is useless for one Mission to introduce reforms in this respect, if a neighbouring one continues on the old system. In the opinion of the Conference the Missionary Societies should at once move concurrently in the direction of making Native Churches more self-supporting under their own Pastors and should mutually support each other in this undertaking.

Resolution VI

The Conference considers it to be of the utmost importance that the Native Church should be constantly reminded that it is itself a great Missionary organization, and that upon it lies the sacred duty of making known the Gospel to those who know it not. The methods to be adopted will necessarily differ in the various Missions, and the Conference can do no more than call attention to the principle ; but it would suggest that such arrangements as may be made should be worked largely by the people themselves under the guidance of their Pastors, and that voluntary help should be sought for and encouraged.

Resolution VII

In order to carry out these principles the Conference considers that more care should be taken in the practical preparation of men for the Pastoral office, and that, as far as possible, none but those who, in addition to the spiritual gifts and graces necessary for so sacred a work, possess tact and firmness should be appointed to a pastoral charge. The future of the Indian Church rests, humanly speaking, so largely on the character of its Pastors that the Conference would emphasize most strongly its sense of the need of the most careful training for such men, especially in Pastoral work.

Resolutions on the Native Agency

Resolution VIII

Whereas the native Pastorate represents the best fruit, the chief glory, and the highest hope of the Church of God in India ;

Resolved—

(*a*) That great care be exercised in the selection of candidates for this sacred office, in order that they may be men of leadership, of character, of culture and of piety; such men as will be safe leaders of the church and will commend themselves and the Cause to the non-Christian world;

(*b*) That systematic efforts be put forth to train the native Pastorate to assume gradually the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of the administration of the native Church.

Resolution IX

Whereas in order to overcome the evils of caste within the Christian Church in South India it is necessary that its manifestation be totally discouraged;

Resolved—That every effort made be to convince mission agents and the members of our mission churches of the folly and wickedness of caste prejudice.

Resolutions on Work Among Women

Resolution I

That this Conference urge it upon all Missionary bodies as a work of great importance that more attention be given to work among the Christian women of our congregations; that thus the life of the native church may become purified from its foundations up through all its parts.

Resolution II

That the staff of European women be increased wherever possible with a view to giving special attention to the development of the spiritual life of Christian women, and that some be set apart especially for this work.

Resolution III

That while recognising this as a present need we would urge that more responsibility be thrown upon the women of our congregations to undertake systematic voluntary work.

Resolution IV

We also recommend that more efforts be made to enlist Anglo-Indian Christian women in Christian work and to fit them for such work.

Resolution V

That this Conference considers it desirable that all women in mission employ and the wives of theological students should receive a special course of Bible instruction and training to fit them for Christian work, and to this end we recommend the establishment of Bible Training Institutions or Training classes.

Resolution VI

That the work which is being done in some Educational institutions for women in training methods of Bible teaching as a part of the Normal course is a matter of thankfulness, and that we recommend that wherever possible, due attention be given in all training schools for girls, to this branch of work.

Comity Among Missions and Co-operation in Mission Works

A. Missionary Comity

Resolution I

1. That a geographical division may sometimes need to be modified by considerations of language or relationship. Villages just beyond the border of one Mission may be closely connected with villages of that Mission, and may therefore be more advantageously worked by it, than by its neighbour.

2. That a Mission ought not to exclude others from territory which it is not really working itself.

3. That where converts of one Mission take up their residence within the boundaries of another Mission, the agents of the former should not be debarred from visiting them and administering the ordinances of their church if they desire it, it being understood that such visits are purely pastoral and not for aggressive purposes.

The above points being accepted, the committee recommend :

4. That considering, on the one hand, the benefits that have followed in the past where territorial divisions have been observed, namely, concentration of effort, evangelization of whole fields, economy of labour, the securing of effective discipline, the promotion of harmony, and avoidance of denominational rivalries ; remembering on the other hand the evils that have resulted from a disregard of this principle, namely, misunderstandings amongst missionaries, quarrels amongst native agents, questions regarding pay of

workers and Church order, unsettlement of the minds of converts, disruption of churches, separation of Christians on caste lines, contention and heart-burnings of various kinds : this Conference affirms its cordial adherence to the principle of comity in regard to territorial divisions ; urges its adoption in cases where for any reason it may not have been observed hitherto, and would express the earnest hope that new Societies beginning work in South India may be guided to labour in unoccupied portions of the country.

5. But in expressing its cordial adherence to the principle under reference, the Conference would, with equal emphasis, place on record its strong sense of the injury done to the cause of India's evangelization by Societies exclusive claims to fields manifestly inadequately provided with workers. With any policy which would aim at preventing other agencies from beginning work in such districts this Conference has no sympathy, but, on the contrary, would earnestly counsel withdrawal from such positions wherever they may exist, so that room may be made for other missions better able to undertake the work.

Resolution II

The Conference draws attention to and endorses the resolution of the last Decennial Conference held at Bombay, recommending the 'various Missionary Societies neither to employ agents nor members from other missions without proper reference to those from whom they come nor to receive members under discipline without similar consultation.'

Resolution III

The Conference would advise that every Missionary or Pastor should give to any member removing to a distance a certificate of his church status.

Resolution IV

The Conference urges managers, in localities where colleges and schools of different missions exist, to come to a mutual understanding with reference to the scale of fees to be levied and scholarships granted, so that there may be no unhealthy rivalry among mission institutions.

B. Co-operation in Mission Work

Resolution I

The Conference heartily endorses the principle of co-operation in Missionary enterprise, and considers it valuable for the promotion of comity, as well as for the attainment of economy and

efficiency in our common work. We regard the frequent gathering of Missionaries in conferences for fraternal counsel, and the organisation of associations for united action and appeal, as eminently desirable, and likewise recommend that missionary societies unite in the production of Christian literature, and that, wherever practicable, neighbouring missions join in the conduct of colleges, training schools and other institutions.

139. EDDY'S REPORT ON THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY SURVEY (c. 1900 A.D.)

Shortly before the formation of the National Missionary Society a survey was taken among Missionaries to determine their reaction to the formation of such an Indian agency. Sherwood Eddy reported on the results of the survey in a letter to friends in America. The date of the letter is uncertain. Cited in Donald Fosset Ebright, *The National Missionary Society of India*, 1905-1942, p. 76.

Before going forward with the organization of a National Missionary Society, the plan was presented to representative missionaries of various denominations at Kodaikanal and Coonoor. In the various meetings, where the plan was suggested, it was not only unanimously approved, but received invaluable aid from suggestions offered in those conferences. Letters were also sent to missionaries in all parts of India to ascertain their opinion. Out of a hundred consulted, more than ninety believed that the time had come for such a movement along the lines proposed. A few believed that the time had not yet come. Others proposed some modification of the plan. Among others the following questions were asked in this circular letter after explaining the nature of the plan :

1. Can India be evangelized in this generation by existing missionary forces ; or can we legitimately expect that it can be done by the Home Boards under present conditions ?

The reply was practically unanimous in the negative.

2. Is it desirable and possible that Indian Christians should take a larger responsibility and share in the evangelization of India ?

The unanimous opinion was that they could and that the time had come when something more should be done.

3. Would a National Missionary Society of India, interdenominational, yet working in harmony with existing organizations, and preserving denominational loyalties (in some such way as the China Inland Mission) be possible and desirable ?

The majority strongly favoured the plan, and believed that the time had come for its inception.

140. NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY : CALL TO THE INDIAN CHURCHES (c. 1900 A.D.)

This appeal to Indian Christians to form an indigenous missionary society for the purpose of evangelizing India was sent out over the names of K.C. Banerji, S. Satthianadhan and Raja Sir Maharaj Singh. The precise date is not known. Cited in Donald Fosset Ebright, *The National Missionary Society of India*, 1905-1942, pp. 79-81.

Our hearts have been stirred by the appalling need of the unoccupied fields of India. According to the Census Report there are, in the Bombay Presidency, over thirty Taluks with a population of over 50,000 each without a single Christian or Christian worker. Several of the small Native States in Rajaputana, Chota Nagpur, Central India, the Central Provinces and elsewhere have yet to be evangelized. It is estimated that, with the utmost increase of existing missionary agencies, there will be fully 100 millions of the people of India who cannot hear the Gospel message in this generation.

In spite of the earnest work of the Missionary Societies of Europe and America, for over one hundred years, to evangelize this country, only one in a hundred is now nominally a Christian. The resources of Europe and America in men and money are taxed to the utmost ; and now for some years we hear the oft-repeated cry from various Missionary Boards that there is a deficit in men and money.

This being the case, we are sure you will feel with us that the time has come when the Indian Christian Church should rise to her responsibility for the evangelization of this land. India is ours, and we whom God has called out of this land to be His own are, in a peculiar way, responsible to God for the souls of our countrymen. The command to go and preach the Gospel to every creature is as binding on Indians as on Europeans. Indifference to this supreme command has brought with it in every land stagnation and decay in the Church. If we do not, as a body, rise to this opportunity and fulfil our responsibility in this matter, we cannot long enjoy the blessing of God.

To awaken in our people a national consciousness, to create in them a sense of true patriotism, and to unite in the cause of the evangelization of our country the Indian Christians of all denominations and provinces, it has been placed in the hearts of many of our brethren to organize a *National Missionary Society of India* which will be conducted by Indian men, supported by Indian money,

and controlled by Indian management. Prominent Indian Christians and many representative Missionaries from all parts of India, to whom the plan has been suggested, have already signified their cordial approval of this scheme and their readiness to co-operate in furthering the cause when such a Society is organized.

The object of the Society will be to evangelize the unoccupied fields in India and to lay upon our fellow-countrymen the burden of responsibility for the evangelization of this land. The general direction of affairs will be placed in the hands of a Council, composed of representative Indians elected by the members from each province together with members representing the larger missions, and one or two missionaries who have deeply at heart the interests of the Indian Church. An Executive Committee appointed by the Council will be situated at one of the presidency cities, and will have the immediate direction of the work of the Society.

It must be understood that this will not mean the forming of a new Church or denomination. We shall preserve denominational loyalty. As in the China Inland Mission, men of the same denomination will work together, and their converts will be members of their own Church.

One might naturally ask whether we shall get for this enterprise the required men and money. With more than a million Protestant Indian Christians, with large communities in some parts growing in wealth, influence and education, with the experience in self-support and self-government our community has gained in many places, we have every reason to hope that the plan will succeed. There are certain communities, churches and even individuals who might easily support a Missionary of their own. Some individual members of our community have already offered, if such a Society be formed, to support singly a worker as their representative ; while others have said they will themselves go as workers if the way opens. May we not believe that when the responsibility is placed upon them, our people will respond to this call for men and money to carry the Gospel to our countrymen ?

141. CLOUGH ON FAMINE RELIEF WORK AT ONGOLE (1900 A.D.)

During the 1876-1878 famine J. E. Clough had provided relief for the Christians, who as labourers of the depressed classes were especially hard hit, by taking a contract to construct a portion of the Buckingham Canal near Ongole. Baptisms were discontinued during that time in order that people would not become Christian simply to get work. During the famine of 1900, as reported here, a similar approach to relief work was adopted by Clough, with the difference that he worked through the Indian municipal authorities and provided relief work to members of all religious communities. This is taken from Clough's report to the American Baptist Missionary Union for the year 1900, and was published in *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, July 1901, pp. 107-109.

At the close of the year 1899 we were able to make a very fair report for Ongole and the work which we here are trying to do. Health had been, in a good measure, granted to us, and God had blessed his own words, and 1,160 had been baptized upon profession of faith in Jesus Christ, and we hoped that the hard times, really semi-famine, with which we had been contending for three or four years, had passed away, and we were glad and thankful.

In fulfilment of a promise given to my youngest daughter, Gracia, that I would go home with her and see her set up in life if she would come out and spend two or three years with me as my personal assistant, I fully intended to return to America early in the present year. Man may propose, but God disposes. The way for me to return seemed to be very plain. The Ecumenical Conference Committee of New York sent me a very kind invitation to be present in New York at their meetings in March, and the executive officers of the Missionary Union also gave me as kind an invitation as ever a missionary need to have to come home and to attend the Ecumenical Conference at New York and to be present at the anniversaries in Detroit. I intended to go and my passage home was tentatively engaged, yet for several weeks the signs of the continuation of the semi-famine became more imminent day by day, and I was ill at ease. But the time came when I must decide whether I would go or not. There were anxious days for me, and during the night before the final decision had to be made I tried to sleep, but sleep would not come. The 10th chapter of John and parts of the 50th chapter of Isaiah came to mind and would not go away. The result was that before morning I had decided to remain with my people and help them all I could during the famine which was so imminent. My daughter when I made my decision known to her bore it gracefully, but not without tears, and later she returned to

the homeland with her sister and Professor Martin, and the good Lord has evidently recognized her sacrifice and given her many blessings.

As anticipated, the famine came on, and by the first of April thousands of the poorer classes were without work and in a starving condition. Friends in America had now taken in the situation and had begun to forward money for relief. The ' Christian Herald ' of New York had also inaugurated, on behalf of India, a most magnanimous charity. Personal friends were not slow in sending contributions. But the question was how to utilize these various charities. Government in this section had not established relief work, and on account of the already fearful condition existing in Central and northern India there was no probability that any relief work on a large scale would be started here. But I knew, unless something was done, thousands of the depressed classes, great numbers of whom were Christians, would inevitably die of starvation, or of disease brought on by hunger. After talking the situation over with the chairman of the Ongole Municipality and the sub-collector of Ongole, and others, we decided that it would be best to put all those who asked aid on some public work. The municipal counsellors of Ongole assigned to me for this purpose several streets which were to be made either entirely new or should be repaired. Also they recommended that several wells be dug and one or two tanks deepened. The chairman of the municipality, V. Ananda Rao Puntulu Garu, kindly offered to take charge of any relief work that I might inaugurate in person and to aid me in any way in his power. To make quite a long story short, the work was started early in April and continued until September. The number of coolies was from 1,000 to 6,000 daily. The aggregate number of coolies engaged for a longer or shorter time was probably not less than 40,000, and this meant that relief went into as many homes. A relief-kitchen for those who were wholly unable to work was also started and continued until the last of December ; the total number dieted in this kitchen was about 600.

Besides large sums of money, in the aggregate, sent to me through the executive officers of the Mission Rooms, and by personal friends, and by the ' Christian Herald ' India Famine Relief Committee, 2,000 bags of American corn, sent to India by the ' Christian Herald ', were allotted to me, and were faithfully distributed.

The result of all this work has been to me most gratifying. Our God makes no mistakes, and I do not and *will not* complain, but oh ! I would rejoice to know that the good Lord would now save us from further famines.

Notwithstanding the famine, the ordinary mission work has been carried on about as in former years. The village schools have perhaps suffered the most, but on account of the liberal aid given to the teachers and some of the scholars very few of the two hundred and twenty village schools have gone down, while some twenty-five others have been started in as many centres. Hence at the close of the year there were more village schools than we had at the beginning and most of them are doing a good though not a great work.

The native preachers, also, as a rule, remained at their posts, and Sunday schools have been maintained in a large number of villages where we have schools. The Telugu services at head-quarters have been as in former years, and English service in the evening conducted by the principal or assistant principal, or one of the teachers of the college, has been maintained throughout the year.

142. THE FOURTH DECENNIAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, MADRAS (1902 A.D.)

The fourth All Indian Decennial Missionary Conference held at Madras in 1902 was the last of the important 'field' conferences in India. The subjects discussed and resolutions passed, some of which are reproduced here, represent the culmination of missionary thinking during the second half of the 19th century. The world Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, the formation of the National Missionary Council (later, National Christian Council), the First World War, and the intensification of the Indian Nationalist movement ushered in a new era. *Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference held at Madras*, 1902, pp. 28-36, 47-48, 159-165.

I. Resolutions on Self-support, Self-government, and Self-extension

A. Self-Support

Whereas the Self-support of a Church is next in importance only to its growth in spiritual life ; whereas this important subject has now been prominently before the Missions and the Churches connected with them for several years past, and its imperative necessity recognised alike by the Missions and the Churches ; and whereas strenuous efforts are being made by many Churches toward the attainment of this end, these efforts having been in

some cases crowned with success, but in too many others making but little progress towards it :—

Resolution IX

This Conference acknowledges with deepest thankfulness to God the progress that has been already made, and urges on the Missions and the office-bearers of the Churches to continue to instruct and enlighten the Churches on the duty and privilege of Self-support, and to apply with earnestness and perseverance the plans that have thus far proved successful. The Conference considers that in the organisation of new Churches provision for the attainment of Self-support in the near future should be made whenever practicable.

Resolution X

The Conference, believing as it does that the Churches will never rise to their responsibilities in the matter of Self-support until its absolute necessity is brought home to them by the withdrawl of foreign aid, earnestly recommends the regular reduction of grants of Mission money made to Churches of any standing,—due consideration being given to cases of extraordinary development,—thereby not only setting free funds for new work, but also training the people in the privilege of giving, and giving increasingly, of their substance to the work of the Church. This would result, the Conference feels, in the development of those Christian qualities which efforts in that direction naturally evoke . . .

Resolution XII

The Conference is of the opinion that, in order to secure the hearty and liberal gifts of the people, not only must the Christian duty, privilege and blessing of giving be continually laid before them, but such methods of giving as accord with the genius of the people should be resorted to. In this connection, offerings on special festive occasions, offerings for special mercies received or dangers averted (e.g., in times of sickness, etc.), first fruits, collections of grain and the like, should be encouraged, in addition to periodical contributions, collections, etc.

Harvest Festivals, coinciding as they do with the customs of the country, have also proved themselves an important factor in inciting the people to spontaneous and cheerful giving, and are heartily recommended by the Conference.

Resolution XIII

The Conference recommends the establishment of a fund for the support of the Pastor in connection with every Church or group of Churches however small, to which all the members, rich and poor,

old and young, should be invited and urged to contribute periodically according as the Lord has prospered them. This will keep them in rememberance of their duty to contribute to those who minister to them in spiritual things, and also help to make up the salary of or provision for the Pastor.

Self-Government

Resolution XIV

This Conference would emphasize the principle now generally accepted, that a reasonable and increasing share of the government of the Churches should be entrusted to the members of those Churches, with the view both of training them in the art of self-government, and of enabling them to take an increasing and more intelligent interest in the affairs of their own Church. This will have a reflex influence on the advance of Self-support, as it is vain to expect the people to give liberally unless they have a due share in the government of their Church.

Resolution XV

This Conference, realising the tendency in the various circumstances which sometimes combine to dissociate the Pastor from those amongst whom he is to labour, and the danger of the true idea of Pastoral work being lost sight of and that of 'superintendence' being introduced in its place, would urge that practical steps be taken to foster increasingly in the mind of the Pastor the idea that he is an integral part of the Native Church to which he ministers, rather than connected with, and dependent upon, a foreign Missionary Society. To this end the Conference would reiterate the recommendation of the South India Missionary Conference of 1900, Resolution II on 'The Native Church', that all Pastors should be paid through some office-bearer of the Church other than the representative of the Missionary Society.

Resolution XVI

This Conference would urge the paramount importance of definitely training Pastors and Governing Bodies in the art of Church administration, the main duty of the administrative Missionary being not to govern, but to train others to govern. The Conference strongly feels that the tendency which would lead the European to undertake administration himself rather than to be at pains to train the Churches to undertake it,—a course often demanding more labour and self-effacement,—should be at all costs resisted; and that no possibility of failure should deter

Missionaries or Missionary Bodies from giving the Churches the fullest scope possible in this direction. With this end in view the Conference would propose that plans be adopted in Church governing bodies whereby men of special ability may be placed in positions of responsibility in which they may have due opportunity for the exercise of their administrative powers, including the collection and disbursement of funds, subject at the same time to a supervision which, while not interfering with their due liberty of action, would secure the right discharge of their duties. The Conference is of the opinion that where failures have occured in the past they have been largely due to the fact that men have been suddenly placed in practically independent positions without due training.

Resolution XVII

This Conference considers, that, where ecclesiastical principles allow, the initiation and enforcement of discipline in the Indian Churches would be more effective if use were made of the indigenous system of panchayats, consisting of Christian leaders, recognised as possessing some authority. This would inculcate a healthy *espirit de corps* and a sense of responsibility in regard to Christian living both among the leaders and the members of the community.

C. Self-Extension

Resolution XVIII

The Conference deems it of the utmost importance that the Churches should be constantly reminded that they are themselves a great Missionary organisation, and that upon them lies the sacred duty of making known the Gospel to those who know it not... In India and Ceylon, where there are almost illimitable opportunities of extension, the burden of winning people to Christ must fall more and more upon the Native Churches ; and while foreign help and guidance can do much, it is manifest that the whole ground can be adequately occupied with workers only as those Churches freely respond to the call Christ makes upon them...

Resolution XXI

The Conference recommends that in connection with each Church, where possible, there should be a Missionary Band, which by its own voluntary efforts should attempt the evangelisation of such non-Christians as may be within its own immediate neighbourhood. Moreover, since, in some places, there are large Churches which might easily do the work which is being done by foreign Missionary Societies in the same area, the Conference suggests

that in such cases the agents of the foreign Missionary Society might be withdrawn and the responsibility for the work thrown on the Churches.

Resolution XXII

The Conference further would recommend the encouragement of the spirit which, they notice with thankfulness, has led some holding good positions to devote part of their leisure time specially in recesses or vacations, to banding themselves together, in a systematized effort to preach the Gospel to non-Chrisitians at their own charges, believing that such efforts go far to dispel the idea current in the minds of many that the Gospel is only preached by those who are paid to do so.

Resolution XXIII

The Conference would also emphasize the importance of maintaining village Primary schools in connection with the Churches, as they serve the double purpose of giving instruction to Christian children and of propagating the Gospel amongst non-Christians.

Resolution XXIV

The Conference would recommend that Churches of each Denomination should unite in the formation of a Home Missionary Society, which shall be supported and controlled by the Churches themselves and shall work in certain specified areas...

Resolution XXV

The Conference further considers that the fact of a Church being not entirely self-supporting should not debar it from undertaking Missionary work even outside its own District or language area, and that care should always be taken by the Missionary Societies to see that the idea of Evangelistic work is not dissociated from that of Pastoral.

II. Resolutions on the Training of Ministers

Resolution XXVI

This Conference, regarding Ministerial Training Institutions, which seek to raise up and qualify spiritual workers familiar with the Bible, as of fundamental importance, earnestly recommends Mission Boards and Churches to keep these Institutions in the highest possible state of efficiency, and wherever deemed advisable to provide facilities for their endowment.

Resolution XXVII

The Conference, approving of the suggestion of the South India Missionary Conference of January 1900, and of the Allahabad Representative Meeting of February of the present year, recommends that as far as possible there should be co-operation of Missions in these Training Institutions, in the interest of economy, of labour and of funds, and for the promotion of union in the Indian and Ceylon Churches.

Resolution XXVIII

The Conference recommends the careful consideration of the question of establishing an Interdenominational Theological Senate, or Board of Examiners, for the promotion of Theological learning in India.

With a view to give practical effect to any feasible solution of this question, this conference appoints the following gentlemen as a representative Committee with power to add to their number, and empowers them to confer with the Council of the Serampore College through the Committee of the London Baptist Missionary Society to ascertain whether they are prepared to delegate the degree-conferring powers of the Charter of that College to a Senate or Faculty representative of the various Protestant Christian bodies working in India. This Conference also empowers the Committee to confer with the various Missionary Conferences for the promotion of co-operation in theological training generally.

III. Resolutions on Missionary Comity

Resolution IV

This Conference, while recognising the right of all Christians to the ministrations of their own communion, and to Christian liberty of thought and action, desires to affirm its opinion that, under present circumstances, the principle of territorial divisions should be maintained...

Resolution V

1. This Conference advocates the formation of provincial or territorial Missionary Associations (in addition to local Missionary Conferences) representing large areas and many Missions. In the case of the South India Missionary Association, this has materially helped to bring the Missionaries of South India into closer touch with each other.

2. It also considers that there might be a far greater development of co-operation in those spheres of service where it is practicable. It would quote as examples :

(*a*) The work of Higher Education. It believes that if, any area where it is desirable to develop Higher Education under Missionary auspices, the Missions working in that area would combine to create a really strong College, the effect both upon the non-Christian and Christian communities would be excellent, each Society being at liberty to maintain its own Hostel for, and to give religious instruction to, its own Christian students, if it desired to do so.

(*b*) The same principle is applicable in lectures to non-Christians in Medical, Industrial and Literary work ; for, while recognising the amount of co-operation that already exists, the Conference feels that large sums are at present being expanded in small and isolated efforts which, if combined, would enable central institutions of the highest class to be kept in the various departments of Missionary activity.

Resolution VI

1. This Conference declares in favour of the principle of Arbitration on matters of dispute between Missions.

2. The Conference appoints the following representatives of Societies at present connected with the Decennial Missionary Conference to act as the Board of Arbitration for India and Ceylon, subject to the approval of the Home Societies ; it being understood that only those Societies that accept the principle of Arbitration shall be represented to the Board :

(names of the members of the Board are given)

Every Missionary Society not connected with the present Decennial Missionary Conference which may hereafter desire to be represented upon the Board of Arbitration, may nominate one representative to be added to the above.

3. This Conference suggests to the above Board the election of an Executive Committee of fifteen members from among its number who shall prepare some system of arbitration to be submitted for approval to the Board.

4. This Conference expresses an opinion that in all cases of disagreement the Missions concerned should attempt a settlement between themselves, and that reference should be made to the Board of Arbitration only after such attempts have failed.

5. While recognising the desirability of leaving to the Board of Arbitration the preparation of a workable system of arbitration, this Conference desires to express its approval of the following general principles upon the basis of which questions of Comity can in its opinion be most satisfactorily settled :

(*a*) That the Board can arbitrate only when any case is referred to it by the official representatives of both the Missions involved in any dispute. But in case one party declines arbitration, it shall still be open to the other party to appeal to the Board to use its friendly offices to bring about reconciliation.

(*b*) That the decisions of the Board of Arbitration, or its appointed representatives, shall be final.

(*c*) That for the settlement of any dispute, the appointed represenatives of the Board of Arbitration shall include an equal representation on behalf of each of the Missions directly concerned, chosen by them from among the members of the Board, it being left to the Board to appoint an additional member,or members, whether of its own body or not, having regard to the nature of the subject upon which arbitration is sought.

6. Further, this Conference is of opinion that the Board of Arbitration should take steps to obtain detailed information regarding unoccupied fields of labour, and thus be in a position to put before the Churches of Europe and America statements concerning those needs of India which can only be met by their aid.

Resolution VII

This Conference also recommends the formation of a similar Board of Arbitration for Ceylon, and appoints the Rev. A. E. Dibben to bring the subject before the various Protestant Missions at work in the Island.

Resolution VIII

1. This Conference is of opinion that no worker should be received into another Mission as an agent without reference to the Mission of which he was formerly a member and the receipt of a certificate of good character, and, in case he has contracted obligations for his training and education, without his continuing to discharge in his new position such obligations as may be mutually agreed upon.

2. This Conference considers it desirable that Missions working near each other and among similar classes should communicate with each other, with a view to obtaining as much uniformity in

pay and status as the circumstances and conditions of the various Societies will admit.

Resolution IX

1. This Conference considers that no one who belongs or has belonged to a Church, with full rights and privileges of membership, should be received into the fellowship of the Church of a sister Mission, without reference to the official representative of the former, or to the Mission with which the applicant is or has been connected.

2. This Conference considers it generally desirable, in the interests of Church discipline and harmony, that excommunicated persons, or persons under discipline in any Church, shall not be received into the membership of any other Church until the bar has been removed by the Church which exercised the discipline.

143. CONVERSION EXPERIENCE OF SADHU SUNDER SINGH (1904 A.D.)

Sadhu Sunder Singh became well known throughout the world for his effort to adopt his forms of Christian ministry to the traditional religious patterns of India. This account of his conversion experience, on 18th December 1904, was given by Sadhu Sunder Singh himself twenty-five years later. Extracts from Sadhu Sunder Singh, *With and Without Christ*, pp. 92-102.

I often used to read the Hindu Scriptures till midnight, that I might in some way quench the thirst of my soul for peace. My father often objected, saying: 'It is bad for your health to read so late.' Though there was much in my home to make me happy, I was not attracted by it. My father often remonstrated with me, saying: 'Boys of your age think of nothing but games and play, but how has this mania possessed you at so early an age? There is plenty of time to think of these things later in life. I suppose you must have got this madness from your mother and the Sadhu.'

I frequently asked the pundit to explain my spiritual difficulties for me. He said: 'Your difficulites seem to be of new and strange kind. I can only say that when you grow up and get more experience and knowledge about spiritual life, these difficulties will disappear of themselves...'

I spoke to the Sadhu several times about my difficulties, but he also gave me a somewhat similar answer: 'Do not worry about it.

When you get knowledge (*gyan*), all these difficulties will disappear.' I replied : 'No doubt it is true that when I obtain this perfect ultimate knowledge my difficulties will disappear, but even at this stage, the little knowledge that I have should remove some of my difficulties, while I should be able to hope for further enlightenment in the future. But I do not see how this increase of knowledge will be able to do much, for it looks as if further knowledge will result in my needs and difficulties being still more clearly seen by me, and how will these new needs be met? Here one requires not only knowledge but bread for the hungry, for when this little knowledge has shown my needs to me, then more knowledge will show more needs, so the question is : " How am I to meet these needs ? " '

The Sadhu replied : 'Not with imperfect, finite knowledge, but with perfect and final knowledge will your needs be met ; for when you get perfect knowledge you will realize that this need, or want, is only an illusion, and that you yourself are Brahma (God) or a part of him, and, when you realize this, then what more will you need ? '...

Again I was disappointed. I could not find anywhere that spiritual food for which I hungered, and in this state of unrest I remained until I found the Living Christ...

Sometime after this my mother died, and a few months later my elder brother also died. This brother's nature and turn of mind were very like my own. The loss of these two dear ones was a great shock to me ; especially did the thought that I should never see them again cast me into despondency and despair, because I could never know into what form they had been re-born, nor could I ever even guess what I was likely to be in my next re-births. In the Hindu religion the only consolation for a broken heart like mine was that I should submit to my Fate, and bow down to the inexorable law *Karma*.

Now another change came into my life. I was sent, for my secular education, to a small primary school that had been opened by the American Presbyterian Mission in our village at Rampur. At that time I had so many prejudices about Christianity that I refused to read the Bible at the daily Bible lessons. My teachers insisted that I should attend ; but I was so opposed to this that the next year I left that school and went to a Government school at Sanewal three miles away, and there I studied for some months. To some extent I felt that the teaching of the Gospel on the love of God attracted me, but I still thought it was false and opposed it. So firmly was I set in my opinions, and so great was my unrest, that one day, in the presence of my father and others, I tore up a Gospel and burned it.

Though, according to my ideas at that time, I thought I had done a good deed in burning the Gospel, yet my unrest of heart increased, and two days after that I was very miserable. On the third day, when I felt I could bear it no longer, I got up at three in the morning, and after bathing, I prayed that if there was a God at all he would reveal Himself to me, and show me the way of salvation, and end this unrest of my soul. I firmly made up my mind that, if this prayer was not answered, I would before day light go down to the railway, and place my head on the line before the incoming train. I remained till about half-past four praying and waiting and expecting to see Krishna, or Buddha, or some other *Avathar* of the Hindu religion ; they appeared not, but a light was shining in the room. I opened the door to see where it came from, but all was dark outside. I returned inside and the light increased in intensity and took the form of a globe of light above the ground, and in this light there appeared, not the form I expected, but the Living Christ whom I had counted as dead. To all eternity I shall never forget His glorious and loving face, nor the few words which he spoke : 'Why do you persecute me? See, I have died on the Cross for you and for the whole world.' These words were burned into my heart as by lightning, and I fell on the ground before Him. My heart was filled with inexpressible joy and peace and my whole life was entirely changed. Then the old Sunder Singh died and a new Sunder Singh, to serve the Living Christ, was born.

After a little while I went to my father, who was still sleeping, and told him of the appearance, and that I was now a Christian. He said : 'What are you talking about? It is only three days since you burned their book. Go away and sleep, you silly boy,' and he himself turned over again. Later on I told the whole family what I had seen, and that I was now a Christian. Some said I was mad, some that I had dreamed ; but when they saw that I was not to be turned they began to persecute me. But the persecution was nothing compared with that miserable unrest I had had when I was without Christ ; and it was not difficult for me to endure the troubles and persecution which now began.

144. AN APPEAL TO INDIAN CHRISTIANS BY THE FOUNDERS OF THE NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY (1905 A.D.)

The National Missionary Society (Bharat Christya Sevak Samaj) was founded at a meeting of Indian Christians held in Serampore from the 24th to 28th of December, 1905. This appeal was made shortly thereafter. Found in *The National Missionary Society of India* (N.M.S. Press, Madras, n.d.). Cited in Donald Fosset Ebright, *The National Missionary Society of India*, 1905-1942, pp. 94-95. The source is not identified by Ebright.

The National Missionary Society is now organised. We stand between a hundred millions of our fellow-countrymen without Christ, and the Christian community which could be aroused to give them the gospel. We are men called to witness for Christ, chosen out of many as a kind of firstfruits, that we might give the gospel to our fellow-countrymen. Shall we fulfil our trust or fail God in his hour of our country's need and the Church's opportunity? God expects a great service of us. Our Lord in calling us has trusted us that we would prove faithful, that we would win India for Him.

No man need wait for a further call. 'The call of God is not so often a personal call as the call of an opportunity.' And what opportunity could be greater? To unite as members of the one Body of Christ, to join hands as Christians from every province in this great empire in one mighty and unceasing effort to win our land for Christ—this is the opportunity to which God is calling us. After two hundred years of Protestant Missionary effort from foreign lands, are we not yet ready to take up our own burden, and live and die for our own country? If we are not ready now, when shall we be? We have waited too long already; we have been weakened from in-activity; we shall grow strong only by effort. The hour of India's opportunity has struck! We shall not fail our God in the day of His power.

India is awakening. God is speaking to our age and to our own land in the mighty reviving work of His Spirit. In Wales we have seen a nation well nigh reborn in a day. In Assam we have heard of His mighty power. In parts of Northern, Western and Southern India the revival has already begun. A revival of whom—and for what? The spirit of pentecost is arousing the Church to-day, not for ecstatic emotions or pleasant feelings as an end in themselves, but in order to give service for the unsaved. We have heard of visions and voices in these days of revival, and we rejoice in every true vision; but let us not forget this vision of the day in men

of Macedonia calling us to help them—a hundred millions of our fellowmen, many of our own race and language, waiting helpless before our very eyes. Now let us not fail to hear the voice of mute appeal that rises from this dumb multitude without God,—the silent cry of 'the unsatisfied heart of India.' Ah, brothers, 'dull would he be of soul' and dead who could resist their plea and turn away with stony heart—for mere worldly pleasure, or selfish ease or sordid gain.

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land'?"

Yes, it is our own! Let us say it a thousand times until we grasp the thought. This land is ours! Not for vain boasting, not in idle sentiment, not to exclude others, but in the solemn obligation alike of ownership and of opportunity, of sacrifice and responsibility. It is ours! to win or lose; to save or to neglect.

145. DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SOUTH INDIA UNITED CHURCH (1908 A.D.)

The first General Assembly of the South India United Church was held at Madras from the 25th to the 27th of December,1908. The formation of this church was an important step in the developing church union movement in India. Among the documents approved by the Assembly were a Declaration of Union, a Plan of Union and Constitution, and a Short History. The first and the last are reproduced here. From *The Report of the Assembly Held in Madras*, pp. 3-4, 16 ff.

Declaration of Union

Whereas the Churches of the Madura and Jaffna Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and those of the South India District Committee and the Travancore Mission of the London Missionary Society, in their organized capacity as 'The United Churches of South India and Ceylon', on the one part; and the Churches of the Arcot Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church and those of the United Free Church Mission of Madras in their organized capacity as 'The South India Synod of the Presbyterian Church' on the other part; have determined for the glory of God to unite organically into one body:

And whereas, in pursuance of this determination, the above two bodies have agreed upon a common basis of union which has been accepted by the churches which they represent:

And whereas the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India did at its meeting in Calcutta, December 28, 1907, resolve to release its Synod of South India in order to become a part of this Union :

Therefore, resolved that we, the duly appointed Representatives of the two above mentioned Bodies, under the authority vested in us by our respective ecclesiastical organizations, being assembled for the purpose of consummating the proposed Union, greatly acknowledging God's guidance in the past, and invoking His blessing upon us at the present, do hereby constitute ourself Provisional General Assembly of the South India United Church ; and that as such we adopt as our own the following Plan of Union and Confession of Faith.

A Short History of Union

We have entered to-day on a road by which no Church, so far as we know, has as yet travelled ; for though unions have been effected in India and elsewhere, this is the first time that the different churches polities which we represent have been actually fused into one. If any one ten years ago had predicted this union he would have been met with query. 'Can this thing be ?' Now that the union is accomplished we bow in thankfulness and say, 'What hath God wrought !' From our new starting point it is well that we should look back on the converging roads by which we have been led.

Although the negotiations for union were begun less than ten years ago, a preparatory work had been going on without which the subsequent rapid progress of the movement would have been impossible. This preparatory work was of two kinds. In the first place the idea of a United Church was in the minds of many. When missionaries came from distant lands it was natural that they should in the first instance organise churches after the pattern to which they had been accustomed. But as time went on the idea gained strength that however valuable such organisation might be as a temporary structure in which the young Church might live in the days of its immaturity, a time must come when the Church would be able to choose an abode for itself, and that when this time came it might no longer be necessary to keep to the denominational lines of the West. Similar ideas were at work in the minds of many Indian Christians. Although they were naturally attached to the Mission through which they had received the truth, and were ready to adopt the method of organisation to which the missionaries had introduced them, they could not help asking why it was necessary that Christians of different Missions should worship apart, although they might live in the same town. Thus the way for a union was being slowly prepared.

It may be noted in passing that without the interest in the movement on the part of missionaries on the one hand, and of the pastors and members of the Indian Church on the other, nothing of any value could have been accomplished. It was natural that a considerable share in the task of bringing about the union should fall to missionaries. The opportunities they had of fellowship and conference, and their knowledge of movements in other lands, made it natural that they should take the lead. But they could have done nothing had there not been in the Church itself a strong feeling that the course proposed was the right one, and on the part of some of these there was not only acquiescence but hearty co-operation. It must be remembered too that if missionaries have taken a prominent part in the effort, they have done so with no selfish motive. In the new Church they will have far less authority than many of them had under the old system. What they have done has been for the advancement of the Church to a condition of independence, in which it will increase, and the missionary decrease.

In the second place, sundry attempts to effect a union had actually been made. As far back as 1883 a retired Bengal civilian proposed that the Presbyterian Churches in India should unite. Two years later the matter was definitely brought before the Northern India Synod of the American Presbyterian Church by the Rev. Dr. Morrison ; and a committee was appointed to correspond with the different Presbyterian Churches in India. As a result of this correspondence a conference took place at Allahabad in 1887 ; and six years later the Indian Presbyterian Alliance came into being. At first it aimed at bringing the Missions into closer fellowship rather than at effecting an organic union of the Churches. When the Alliance, however, met for the fifth time in 1899, it took definite steps with this latter end in view. It was probably induced to do so by pressure from the west. In the year 1888 the subject of union was brought before the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America by one to whom the union cause owes much-Dr. Jacob Chamberlain—and the Synod called upon its representative in South India—the Classis of Arcot—to initiate such measures ' as shall tend to bring together the Churches of the Presbyterian polity in India.' Later in the same year a conference of representatives of the Mission Boards of the Presbyterian Churches of the United Kingdom was held in Edinburgh. As the resolutions passed by this body give expression to a policy of which the union now effected is the latest outcome it may be well to quote them in full. They are as follows :—

1. It is in the highest degree desirable that Mission Churches should be encouraged to become independent of the Home Churches, i.e., self-supporting and self-governing, self-government naturally following upon self-support.

2. It is desirable that Churches organised under the Presbyterian order, and holding the Reformed faith, should be placed under a Presbytery within territorial boundaries suitable for effective government, and that such Presbytery wherever constituted should as far as practicable include all the Presbyterian Churches within its bounds, by whatever branches of the European or American Churches originated.

3. In the incipient stages of the Native Church, it is most desirable that the foreign missionaries should be associated with the Presbytery, either as advisers only, or as assessory members with votes.

4. It is undesirable that Presbyteries of Native Churches should be represented in supreme courts at home, the development and full organisation of independent Native Churches being what is to be aimed at, whether these are founded by a single foreign Church, or by two or more such Churches.

It was soon evident, however, that the time for giving effect to these resolutions for India as a whole had not come. The difficulties raised by distance and language seemed insuperable ; and in some cases it was evident that the Indian Church was not ready for the measure of self-reliance which the plan involved. The negotiations accordingly were dropped for the time, but they were not fruitless. They formed another element in the preparation for what was afterwards achieved.

Meanwhile an attempt was made in South India on different lines. In 1886 some Madras Christians, leaving the Churches with which they had been connected, combined under the title of the 'National Church of India'. The number that followed their example was small. The great majority preferred to remain in their former connection, and even those who were eager for union doubted if the end could be reached in this way. They felt that since all were not ready for such a step, the attempt to reach unity by a single leap must fail, and the new Church would simply become one of the sects. Subsequent experience has shown that progress is made by taking one step at a time, uniting those Churches whose doctrine and practice were most similar, and so proceeding gradually to larger unions.

So much for the preparatory period. It was in the year 1899 that the threads that had been dropped were once more taken in hand. In the annual report published in that year the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland included as an appendix an account of an organic union which a few years before had been effected between the Churches of two Missions in

South China—the Dutch Reformed and the English Presbyterian. The situation in South India was so similar that the idea of following their example arose naturally. While the matter was still in the stage of informal conference, a further impetus was received from the South Indian Missionary Conference, which met in Madras in the beginning of 1900. Of this Conference co-operation was one of the keynotes ; and the result was a deepening of the impression already made as to the desirability of taking immediate steps. The first to take formal action was our esteemed President ; and the response was so ready that within two months of the close of the Conference a committee representing the American Arcot, Church of Scotland, and Free Church of Scotland Missions had met and applied itself to the two-fold task of leading the Missions into co-operation, and the Churches into organic union. As an aid to its work it had before it the constitution of the Church of Christ in Japan, a body formed a few years earlier by the union of the Presbyterians in that country. In less than two years a basis of union was agreed upon by the Missions and Presbyteries of the Arcot and Free Church Mission and secured the approval of their home authorities. In the case of the Church of Scotland the scheme was approved locally ; but the home committee did not at the time see its way to sanction more than the co-operative part of the plan. The other two Churches resolved to proceed, and the first Synod of the South Indian United Church was held in September 1901, under the moderatorship of Dr. Chamberlain. During the period of nearly seven years that have elapsed since the union there has been abundant evidence that it was God Himself who led us into it.

The news of the resumption of negotiations in the South had the effect of stirring up some in the North who had been interested in the earlier movement. In the belief that the churches might now be ready for what had formerly been considered premature, the Presbyterian Alliance resumed its meetings ; and in 1904 the greater number of the Presbyterian Churches in the land united under the title of the ' Presbyterian Church in India '. Into this union the South India Synod resolved to enter, but on the definite understanding that if the way to a still wider union should open up in the South, while it was still closed in the North, the Synod should be free to enter the open door.

Having traced the history of the union movement among the Presbyterians, we must now see what had been done among those whose ancestry, for the most part, was Congregational. The steps leading to the formation of the South Indian United Church were eagerly watched by members of the London and American Madras Missions. The idea of a wider union, such as has been now effected, was suggested ; but it was thought best to let each of these ecclesiastical families complete its own union first. Accordingly,

in 1903, a committee of representatives of the London and Madras Missions was constituted. In little over a year it had a scheme ready which was received with general favour. The union included not only Churches of the American Madura Mission, and the majority of those of the London Mission, but also the Churches founded by the American Board in Ceylon. In 1905 the first General Assembly met at Madura under the presidency of Dr. Duthie.

Although the union movement had proceeded so rapidly, those most interested in it did not look upon it as having reached its end. As far back as 1902 informal colloquies had taken place with a view to bringing into one the Churches of the London and Madura Missions on the one hand, and the South Indian Presbyterians on the other. It was found that each side would have to give up something. The Presbyterians would have to be content with a simpler, and, to some minds at least, less adequate expression of their faith, and to a less centralised form of government. On the other hand the Congregationalists found that union was impossible unless they allowed to the body representing the Churches (the Church Council) an amount of authority incompatible with simple Congregationalism. In most cases the sacrifice was gladly made ; and indeed some on both sides felt that the new basis was more suitable for the Indian Church than either of the systems it replaced. The negotiations lasted about two years ; and the result was the scheme of union which has been ratified to-day. The Presbyterian Assembly, though reluctant to part with its Southern Synod, became convinced that the latter was taking the right course ; and as the time for such a union for all India had obviously not come, it resolved to let the Southern Church lead the way, and accordingly handed over its Synod to be an integral part of the new Church.

146. REPORT OF THE UNION COMMITTEE OF THE S.I.U.C. (1909 A.D.)

This report of the Committee on Union was presented to the Second General Assembly of the South India United Church, held at Trivandrum in December, 1909. The Committee consisted of J. P. Cotelingam, I. H. Hacker and J. H. Maclean. It reveals the continuing interest in wider church union in relation to both South India/Sri Lanka and the nation as a whole. *Minutes of the Second General Assembly of the S.I.U.C.*, 1909, pp. 14 ff.

The Committee has endeavoured to carry out the instructions it received on its appointment, which, briefly stated, were two-fold : (1) to confer with representatives of other churches, and

more especially the Presbyterian Church in India, with a view to establishing a federation of Indian Churches on certain clearly defined lines, and (2) to endeavour to find ways of co-operating with Churches which might be found not to be ready at present for federation on the lines suggested.

It will be noted that the resolution under which the Committee was appointed contains no reference to the possibility of any extension of the movement for organic union which led to the organisation of the South India United Church. It seems to have been taken for granted that there was no Church in South India with which there was any immediate probability of such union. Two circumstances, however, had led the Committee to believe that the limits of the movement for organic union have not been reached ; these circumstances are (1) the receipt of a letter just after the rising of the Assembly from the Rev. J. Hermelink, then Chairman of the Basel German Mission (see the appendix to report of Assembly), and (2) the receipt by the President of the Assembly of a communication from the Director of the Sri Lanka and India General Mission. The Committee accordingly asks the Assembly to take into account in re-appointing the Union Committee the possibility of further organic union with these or other bodies . . .

We hereby resolve to recommend to the several bodies we represent the formation of a federation and to present the following plan for their consideration :—

1. The name of the organisation formed by the Churches and Societies joining in federal union shall be 'The Federation of Christian Churches in India.'

2. All Churches and Societies that believe in God through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord and Saviour, and that accept the Word of God as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the supreme rule of faith and practice, and whose teaching in regard to God, sin, and salvation is in general agreement with the great body of Christian faith, shall be eligible for fellowship in the Federation.

3. The Federation shall not interfere with the existing creed of any Church or Society entering into its fellowship, or with its internal order or external relations. But in accepting the principle that the Church of God is one, and that believers are the body of Christ and severally members thereof, the federating Churches agree to recognise the validity of each other's ordinances, ministry, membership and discipline, without thereby committing themselves to approval of particular methods or practices.

4. The object of this Federation shall be to attain a more perfect manifestation of the unity of His disciples for which the Redeemer prayed, by fostering and encouraging the sentiment and practice of union, by organising union effort wherever and whenever possible, by making the welfare of all the Churches in the Federation an object of vital interest and concern to all, by strengthening throughout the entire brotherhood the sense of a common life and heritage ; and in general to seek through all such effort to hasten the establishment of the Kingdom of God in India.

5. For the realisation of this object there shall be

(*a*) The formation of a Provincial Federal Council in each province or great language area, consisting of representatives from Indian Churches in their corporate capacity, or, in cases where there is no ecclesiastical organisation distinct from the missionary organisation, from Missions, the number of delegates to be chosen in the proportion of one ministerial and one lay representative for every ten organised congregations, or fraction thereof.

This Council shall hold annual meetings, or such stated meetings as it may determine, and it shall also be convened to deal with urgent matters of general concern at the call of three federated Churches.

(*b*) The formation of a National Federal Council consisting of representatives, chosen by each of the Provincial Councils in proportion of one in four of its membership or fraction thereof, to be composed in equal numbers of ministerial and lay representatives, it being understood that each federating body is entitled to at least one representative. Meetings shall be held once in three years or as often as the Council itself shall determine, or when called for by not less than three Federal Councils to deal with urgent matters.

These Councils, whether Provincial or National, shall have only consulative and advisory powers except where additional powers may be delegated to them by the bodies they represent.

By means of reports from the Provincial Councils the National Council shall keep in touch with the life and work of the Churches, and by means of sub-committees it shall have power in the intervals of meetings to prosecute the work of the Federation and further its interests. If need be the National Council shall voice the opinions of the Christian community it represents.

6. It shall be the work of the Federation alike in the Provincial and National Councils to carry on work on the following lines

in so far as it falls within the scope of the Indian Church and is in harmony with what is already being done by existing organisations :—

(*a*) to suggest and encourage efforts to combine the moral and spiritual forces of Christianity in the development of worthy character in Christ's followers by means of joint observance of sacred ordinance and interchange of pulpits, and thereby to intensify the consciousness of life and strength in the Christian Church ;

(*b*) to seek for and to make opportunities for Christian fellowship in meetings for devotion and conference...that thus... the way may be prepared for a still wider and more effective application of the principles of Christian unity ;

(*c*) to guide and stimulate the churches by collecting and diffusing information concerning the progress of the Kingdom of the Lord within their bounds as well as throughout the world... ;

(*d*) to suggest and encourage plans for combined effort to evangelise the masses and win India for Christ, and more especially to consider the most efficient and economical means to evangelising the districts within their areas ; ...

(*e*) to seek to promote co-operation as far as practicable in literary and educational work, especially in the training of teachers and preachers, to seek to secure harmonious action in reference to all public matters affecting the moral and social welfare of the community, Christian and non-Christian, and to make representations and suggestions to Missions where deemed advisable;

(*f*) to develop by co-operative and representative action and by free intercommunion, a consciousness in the Indian Churches of membership in the same outward visible Church which, though not characterised by uniformity in all things, is yet essentially one in its life and work, in its divine purpose and blessed hope.

The subsequent work of the committee has consisted simply in the transmission of these resolutions to the Churches in South India which had expressed sympathy with the idea but had been unable to send representatives to the Conference, and the action of their governing bodies is now awaited...

It will be noted that the Assembly's resolution was not communicated to all in South India. The Committee considered that to send it to the representatives of Churches which considered any federation which involved mutual recognition of ministry and sacraments to be contrary to their fundamental principles was simply to court a rebuff. However desirable it might be to have

federation with the large communities holding Anglican, Lutheran, or Baptist views, the Committee was reluctantly led to the conclusion that no proposals for federation with the Churches in South India holding such views should be made at present...

This leads to the consideration of the third possible form of union, viz., co-operation with those unable to accept the federation basis. The Committee has not seen its way to formulate any scheme, believing that informal conference in such a matter must precede formal action. Representative Anglicans, Baptists, and Lutherans have accordingly been interviewed by the Convener. Some have expressed their desire for such a co-operative scheme as would include their Churches and ours, but have made no definite proposals. Others, while ready to use to the full the means already furnished by Missionary Conferences and interdenominational organisations for friendly intercourse and co-operation in good works, have expressed themselves as doubtful whether any formal organisation should be attempted.

The Committee accordingly doubts whether the time has come for any definite scheme of union, other than the organic union already accomplished and the federal union now under consideration. It believes, however, that if any scheme is brought forward by those who desire that the co-operation already existing should take organised form, any future Assembly to which it is submitted will be ready to consider it sympathetically.

The following resolution is presented to the Assembly for consideration :—

The Assembly accepts the report, and resolves to continue the Committee.

1. With regard to the extension of the movement for organic union the Assembly instructs the Committee to enter into communication with the Ceylon and India General Mission with a view to organic union, with the understanding (1) that if that Mission sees its way to accept the Basis of Union as it stands the Executive Committee be empowered to receive its Churches into the United Church and to bring them into Councils, and (2) that if any modification of the basis be proposed by the Ceylon and India General Mission, the Committee confer with representatives of the Mission regarding the proposed modifications, and refer the matter to the next General Assembly.

The Assembly also empowers the Committee to enter into negotiation with the Basel Mission in the hope that after allowing time for consideration of all the issues involved, terms of organic union may be satisfactorily arranged.

The Assemmbly also declares its readiness to consider proposals for organic union with any other Church in South India or Ceylon which desires union on the lines of the Basis of Union, and empowers the Committee to enter into negotiations with such.

2. With regard to federation the Assembly rejoices in the cordial response made by so many Churches to the proposals made by its Committee in conjunction with the corresponding committee of the Presbyterian Church in India. It approves of the proposed basis for a federal union, and instructs its Committee to continue to confer with other Churches willing to accept federation on the proposed basis...

3. The Assembly further instructs the Committee to take such opportunities as present themselves of familiarising the South Indian Churches, more especially those which have not approved of federation on the lines proposed, with the ideas underlying the federation proposals, and of conferring, whether formally or informally, with representatives of these churches...

147. V. S. AZARIAH'S ADDRESS TO THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, EDINBURGH (1910 A.D.)

V. S. Azariah was one of the two non-westerners to give major addresses at the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in June, 1910. His comments on the subject, 'The Problem of Co-operation between Foreign and Native Workers', made a deep impression on the delegates. Portions of the address are reproduced here from *World Missionary Conference* 1910, *vol. IX. The History and Records of the Conference together with Addresses Delivered at the Eveniug Meetings*, pp. 306-315.

The problem of race relationships is one of the most serious problems confronting the Church to-day. The bridging of the gulf between the East and the West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ as the great Unifier of mankind, is one of the deepest needs of our time. Co-operation between the foreign and native workers can only result from proper relationship. Co-operation is ensured when the personal, official, and spiritual relationships are right, and is hindered when these relationships are wrong. The burden of my message is that, speaking broadly, at least in India, the relationship too often is not what it ought to be, and things must change, and change speedily, if there is to be a large measure of hearty co-operation between the foreign missionary and the Indian worker...

This is not only my own impression, but what I have gathered from a large number of my Indian brethren, and even a few European missionaries.

This feeling is stronger and more in evidence in some missions than in others. Some Missionary Societies are in great advance in this respect over others. In the Young Men's Christian Association we have a body that stands foremost in having successfully solved the problem...

I do not deny that there is blame on both sides. That cannot but be so. I do not overlook the fact that hindrances to a proper relationship exist also on the side of the Indian Christians, but since my audience is not composed of these, I feel that it will serve no useful purpose to detail them here...

I. Let us first consider the *Personal* relationship that ought to exist for effective co-operation. For the idea of this relationship we look to our Master and Lord. The relationship between Him and His immediate disciples and fellow-workers was not only one of Teacher and pupils, Master and disciples but, above all, that of friend and friends...

Can it be truly said that the foreign missionary has become a *friend* of his fellow-workers ? Can it be said that this has been his aim ? I am afraid in many cases the answer must be in the negative...

Friendship is more than condescending love. I do not for a moment deny that foreign missionaries love the country and the people of the country for whom they have made such noble sacrifices, but friendship is more than the love of a benefactor. I cannot do better than quote the words of one who is himself a foreign missionary in South India. He writes: ' The popular appellation in use about missionaries in this country is " father " ; but a time comes when children ought to begin—and if they develop normally, do begin—to think for themselves and to have aspirations and plans of their own. That is a critical time for the father in his relation to his children. His continued influence for good, at any rate for the greatest good, in his son's life now depends on his becoming the son's friend... If I rightly regard a person as my friend, I respect his individuality and remember that he has peculiarities, rights, and responsibilities of his own, which require, in some measure at any rate, that a feeling of equality and freedom shall pervade our relations and our intercourse with one another. This is the point where we find ourselves in India to-day.'

But while ' East is East and West is West,' is such a friendship possible between two races, that in habits, customs, and modes of

thought are so diametrically opposed to each other? I know in my own experience that such friendships *are* possible...

I quote another authority, this time from North India, the Lord Bishop of Lahore. He says: 'With abundance of kind feeling for, and unsparing labour and self-denial on behalf of Indian Christians, the missionaries, except a few of the very best, seem to me to fail very largely in getting rid of an air of patronage and condescension, and in establishing a genuinely brotherly and happy relation as between equals with their Indian flocks...'

The pioneer missionaries were 'fathers' to the converts. The converts in their turn were glad to be their 'children.' But the difficulty in older missions now is that we have a new generation of younger missionaries who would like to be looked upon as fathers, and we have a new generation of Christians who do not wish to be treated like children. If the Christian community of the second and third generations, through the success of missionary work, has risen to the position when they do not any longer care to be treated like children, should we not be the first to recognise this new spirit and hasten to strengthen the relationship, by becoming their friends? Is it not such a relationship, and such alone, that can, more than anything else, prevent the growth of the spirit of false independence, foolish impudence, and flagrant bitterness against missionaries that we often meet with in Indian Christian young men to-day?

The Bishop of Lahore goes on to make some practical suggestions. He says: 'If we could get into the way of treating Indian Christians with perfect naturalness, exactly as we treat English friends, asking them more frequently to stay with us in our houses, and genuinely making friends of them, realising in how very many things we have to learn from them, and how large are the contributions which they can bring into the common stock—this, I believe, would do more than anything else to draw us more closely together again...' Much more can be done along these lines.

Let me give some extreme cases of the contrary attitude. I do it with the deepest pain in my own heart, feeling that if some of my missionary friends have failed, I am also responsible for it. I can now think of one Indian superintending missionary, for over fifteen years in responsible charge of large districts, who said recently that he had never been invited to a single meal at any house of any of his European missionary brethren. I think of a pastor, who is confessedly the right hand of a station missionary, who said to me that during the eighteen years he had been a pastor, his missionary had never once visited his humble home. Two men, holding very high positions in a native state, said to a friend of mine recently that

though they had been for several years in the city, and even called on the missionary, the missionary never thought of returning the call. I remember two or three younger missionaries who have told me that while they themselves like to go and call on the leading Indian Christian gentlemen, their senior missionaries are against such innovations. I recall how years ago a young missionary told me of what he called the impudence of an Indian clergyman, who was a graduate of one of the Indian universities, in going forward to shake hands with him. 'This man,' he said, 'thinks, that because he is a graduate and has put on European costume, I must shake hands with him !'

I do not want you to think that these instances represent the general state of affairs, nor do I want you to think that these are but solitary instances...

On the other hand, I can never forget a sight I saw near the foot of the Himalayas, on the borders of Kashmir. At dinner at a missionary's table the British Civil Surgeon of the district, the missionary, an American Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., a native pastor, and an ordinary catechist sat round the table, with the wife of the missionary presiding at the table. It was not a got-up show. The perfect ease with which the pastor and the catechist conducted themselves was proof positive that there the relationship was natural and customary. I noticed that that mission on the whole was far ahead in this respect of most others.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not plead for returning calls, handshakes, chairs, dinners, and teas, *as such*. I do, on the other hand, plead for all of them and more if they can be expressions of a friendly feeling, if these or anything else can be the outward proofs of a real willingness on the part of the foreign missionary to show that he is in the midst of the people, to be to them, not a lord and a master, but a brother and a friend.

II. The effective co-operation will only be possible with a proper *official* relationship.

The official relationship generally prevalent at present between the missionary and the Indian worker is that between a master and a servant in fact, the word often used in South India by the low grade Indian workers in addressing missionaries is *ejaman* or master. The missionary is the paymaster, the worker his servant. As long as this relationship exists, we must admit that no sense of self-respect and individuality can grow in the Indian Church.

... The aim of the Missionary Societies, we know, is to develop self-governing churches and to give freedom and scope to indigenous leadership, and to strive to make themselves unnecessary

in the field. But the Societies have not convinced the natives that this is their aim. Nay, in some missions Indian Christians truly, though I know erroneously, believe tnat the missionaries are against any full self-support and real self-government, because that will make them unnecessary in the leadership of the work. It is commonly supposed that the man of independent thought and action is the man least consulted in the administration of the mission. I know some instances where independent action in the smallest affair has been repressed, and indigenous efforts—even indigenous missionary efforts — have been looked upon with suspicion and distrust.

There can never be real progress unless the aspirations of the native Christians to self-government and independence are accepted, encouraged, and acted upon...

I plead, therefore, that an advance step may be taken by transferring from foreigners to Indians responsibilities and privileges that are now too exclusively in the hands of the foreign missionary. Native Church Councils should be formed, where Indians could be trained in the administration of their own churches. Missionary Conferences should find a place for Indian leaders, so that the Indian and European may consult and work together for the welfare of the common work. The favourite phrases, ' our money,' ' our control,' must go...

If such an advance is to be made, what should be the relationship of the foreign missionary to the Indian Christian leaders? Surely, that of a friend...

III. True co-operation is possible only with a proper *spiritual* relationship.

No personal relationship will be true and permanent that is not built on a spiritual basis. India is a land that has a ' religious atmosphere.' To the Hindu ' the one and only ultimate is God : his great and only reality the unseen : his true and eternal environment the spiritual.'

In such a land, therefore, the easiest point of contact with the heart is on the spiritual side. The Indian nature has aptitude to develop devotional meditation and prayer, resignation and obedience to the will of God, the Christian graces of patience, meekness, and humility, the life of denial of self, the cultivation of fellowship and communion and the practice of the presence of God. These elements of Christian mysticism find a natural soil in the Indian heart. Not by decrying this aspect of the Christian life, but only by cultivating it and developing it in himself can a foreigner win the heart of an Indian. It is then, and then only, the westerner can impart to him what naturally he has not : elements of Christian

character, Christian activity, and Christian organization. These characteristics which the westerner has developed often fail to appeal to the Indian, because too often they are advocated by men who have not reached the heart of the Indian through finding the point of contact.

Whatever others may think, I do not myself look forward to any time in the near future when we in India will not need the western missionary to be our spiritual guides and helpers. Through your inheritance of centuries of Christian life you are able to impart to us many things that we lack. And in this sphere I think the westerner will be for years to come a necessity. It is in this co-operation of joint study at the feet of Christ that we shall realise the oneness of the Body of Christ. The exceeding riches of the glory of Christ can be fully realised not by the Englishman, the American, and the Continental alone, nor by the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Indians by themselves—but by all working together, worshipping together, and learning together the perfect Image of our Lord and Christ ... This will be possible only from spiritual friendships between the two races. We ought to be willing to learn from one another and to help one another.

Through all the ages to come the Indian Church will rise up in gratitude to attest the heroism and self-denying labours of the missionary body. You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We also ask for *Love*. Give us FRIENDS !

148. RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF SOUTH INDIAN MISSIONARIES WITH J. R. MOTT, MADRAS (1912 A.D.)

As Chairman of the Continuation Committee appointed by the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910, John R. Mott held a series of eighteen regional and three national conferences in Asia between October 1912 and May 1913. The purpose was to encourage the formation of National Councils that would become constituent members of the planned international mission organization that was later formed as the Interntional Missionary Council, and to encourage the development of indigenous leadership. The Madras Conference was held between the 18th and 20th of November, 1912, as a regional conference. Some of its resolutions are reproduced here. *Resolutions of a Conference of South India Missionaries with Dr. Mott, Held in Madras, November* 18-20, 1912, pp. 1-7, 14-16.

Federal Missionary Council of South India

The Conference resolves that a Federal Missionary Council representative of the missionary societies and church organizations at work in South India be appointed.

1. The duties of this Council shall be —

(*a*) To keep in touch with the work of these societies and organizations in South India and to take such action as may seem desirable to further their interests.

(*b*) To carry on its work chiefly by the formation of special committees. The Council shall have power to appoint on these committees not only its own members but also any other missionary or other person interested in mission work.

(*c*) To decide when a further conference of South Indian Missionaries shall be held and to make the initial arrangements for such a conference.

2. The Council shall be the body which shall relate the Christian forces in South India with those in other parts of India and through the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference with the home base.

3. The Council shall consist of a number of members of whom the greater part shall be representatives, both Indian and foreign, elected by missionary societies or Church organizations. The remaining part shall be co-opted by the representative members.

4. An interim committee shall be appointed whose duty it shall be to take all the necessary steps to constitute the proposed Council...

The Indian Church

1. The Conference believes that, while there is undoubtedly a strong desire on the part of some leaders of the Indian Christian community for a comprehensive Church organization adapted to the country, there is not yet in the community as a whole a strong and widespread consciousness of such a desire. The Conference however considers that facilities should be given for the development and spread of this desire and recommends that conferences for the promotion of unity be encouraged.

2. The Conference is of opinion that experience has shown that the granting to churches of a measure of self-government has resulted in an advance in the direction of self-support.

3. The Conference, while recognising the marked advance which many parts of the Indian Christian community have made in the formation of missionary societies and the prosecution of missionary endeavours, urges upon the churches the great necessity of cultivating the missionary spirit in individual members in order

to lead them to realize their responsibility for the personal evangelization of those around them.

4. The Conference desires to emphasize the value of conferences and conventions for the deepening of the spiritual life of the Church.

Indian Christian Leadership

1. ...The Conference desires therefore to record the conviction that whenever capable and spiritually minded Indian men and women are discovered, the time has come for the churches and missions to make a real and unmistakable advance, by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans and thus opening for them the highest and the most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity, where this has not already been done.

2. The Conference at the same time expresses the earnest hope that educated young men and women will not be discouraged by the obstacles that now stand in their path, but that in view of the greatness of the need they will offer themselves for such positions as are open to them in Christian service.

3. The Conference further urges that missionaries and educated Indian Christians should do their utmost to enter more fully into one another's point of view in the hope tnat such misunderstandings as tend to arise may be obviated and a great united effort may be made for the advancement of the kingdom of God...

Co-operation Between Missions

1. The Conference, while recognizing the progress that has been made in recent years in the matter of comity, holds that further application of principles of comity are possible and desirable, more especially in the matters of scales of salaries, Church discipline and the reception of workers from other missions.

2. The Conference feels that the time has come for all missionary societies to recognise that the wider interests of the kingdom of God must always have priority over the rights and privileges of individual missions, provided that this principle be carried out without prejudice to the liberty of conscience of individual Christians.

3. The Conference realizes that there is a loud call for more direct preaching of the gospel all through the land and urges the

importance of missions uniting for this purpose. But in the matter of establishing institutions for organized work the Conference holds that a true spirit of co-operation requires that the centres of different missions should be more widely separated than is sometimes the case at present . . .

4. The Conference recommends (1) the missions take care to aquaint their missionaries, especially those newly entering on their work, with the principles of missionary comity, and (2) that Indian Churches which undertake missionary operations should work in accordance with such principles of comity as have been found most helpful in the case of missionary societies . . .

5. The Conference feels that there is an urgent need for a conference on Faith and Order to be convened by the Federal Missionary Council of South India . . .

149. PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL COUNCILS: NATIONAL CONFERENCE WITH J. R. MOTT, CALCUTTA (1912 A.D.)

Between the 18th and 21st of December, 1912, J. R. Mott, the Chairman of the Continuation Committee established by the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910, presided over a National Conference of Missionaries in Calcutta. The most important decision taken at this meeting was to form Provincial and National Missionary Councils. The National Missionary Council, in 1923, became the National Christian Council. *Findings of the National Conference held at Calcutta, December* 18*th to* 21*st* 1912, pp. 4-10.

Co-operation

Preamble

This Conference desires to put upon record its thankfulness to God for the spirit of Christian love and co-operation that has marked the proceedings of the Conference recently held, alike Provincial and National, and rejoices in the greater facilities and opportunities for still further manifestations of unity and of fuller co-operation in the various branches of Mission work thus secured. For the purpose of turning such opportunity to the best account they recommend as follows :—

1. Provincial Councils :—This Conference notes that in the findings of the various Provincial Conferences there is general recognition of the desirability of the formation of provincial bodies in some form to promote the work of co-operation and in various

ways to increase the efficiency of the Church's work. To give effect to this desire the Conference recommends the formation of Provincial Councils on the following basis :—

(*a*) Name :—(1) Collectively, the Provincial Representative Councils of Missions. (2) Individually, the Madras (or other name) Representative Council of Missions.

(*b*) Objects :—(1) To facilitate co-operation in Missionary policy and activity. (2) To co-operate with Edinburgh Continuation Committee.

(*c*) Duties :—(1) To make periodically a thorough survey of the whole field and to communicate the results of such survey to the various Missions within the area.

(2) To keep in touch with all Missions and Church Organizations in its own area, and to take such action as may seem desirable with a view to correlate their activities and to promote their co-operation.

(3) To keep in touch with similar Councils in other areas in India, with the National Missionary Council of India and the Edinburgh Continuation Committee and its special committees.

(4) To undertake any other work which may be referred to it by the bodies which it represents.

(5) To consider and adopt findings on any matter pertaining to Mission work which it deems to fall within its scope . . .

2. National Council :—With a view to co-ordinating the activities of the Provincial Councils the Conference resolves to take steps for the formation of a National Council in accordance with the following plan :—

(*a*) Name :—The Council shall be called the National Missionary Council of India.

(*b*) Objects :—The objects of the Council shall be—

(1) To co-operate with the Provincial Councils in the carrying out of their objects.

(2) To be in communication with the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Conference regarding such matters as require consideration or action from the point of view of the Indian Mission field as a whole.

(3) To take into consideration such other questions affecting the entire Missionary field as may seem desirable.

(4) To make provision for the convening of an all India Missionary Conference when such is in the opinion of the Council desirable . . .

150. COMMISSION GRANTING V. S. AZARIAH EPISCOPAL POWERS (1912 A.D.)

The elevation of V. S. Azariah to the episcopate, as bishop of the newly formed diocese of Dornakal, was an important step in the development of Indian leadership in the Anglican communion. He was the first Indian bishop of that tradition. The following is the notice of commissioning issued by the Rt. Rev. Henry Whitehead, Bishop of Madras. Cited in C. J. Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, Appendix XI, pp. 242-243.

I, Henry (Whitehead), by divine permission Bishop of Madras, hereby commission the Right Reverend Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah to exercise full episcopal powers, oversight and jurisdiction in that part of the dominions of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad which lies East of the seventy-ninth degree of longitude, and in some adjoining portions of British territory ; the boundaries of this area on the South and South East being identical with the present boundaries of the Khammamet Mission District now occupied by the Church Missionary Society, as shown on the accompanying map ; and within the area I, Henry, Bishop of Madras, will exercise such authority and jurisdiction as the Metropolitan of the Province exercises within the dioceses of the suffragan Bishops of the Province of India and Ceylon and such only ; provided always that in accordance with Resolution 6 of the Synod of 1912 such authority and jurisdiction be delegated to me by the Metroplitan.

151. J. R. MOTT ON THE SYRIAN CHURCH UNITY CONFERENCE, SERAMPORE (1913 A.D.)

John R. Mott here describes the circumstances under which he was asked to convene a conference of representatives of the Jacobite, Mar Thoma and Anglican Syrian Christians, and also briefly describes its results. Cited in *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, vol. II, pp. 399-400.

Let me tell you briefly about another important experience not referred to in my general letter. As you know, the Syrian Church of Travancore is the oldest and one of the largest Christian Communions in India. It has for a long period been seriously rent into divisions which have stood aloof from one another. Some of the younger and more progressive members of different parties asked me whether, before leaving India, I would not as chairman of the (Edinburgh) Continuation Committee consent to meet

deputations of leaders of the various Christian bodies in Travancore to promote a better understanding and co-operation. I told them I would gladly do so, but that because of my crowded program it would be necessary for them to come to North India, a three days journey. The result was the Syrian Church Unity Conference, held at Serampore, near Calcutta, January 1-2. The number of delegates from each body was restricted to six. The Jacobites were represented by their Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, and five of his leading members. The Mar Thoma body was represented by their Metropolitan and his strongest workers. The Bishop in Travancore and Cochin and a group of young men represented the Anglicans. The Metropolitan of the body which recently split off from the Jacobites had started to the Conference, but because of the illness of his associate, was unable to proceed ; however, his community was represented by two students, and he sent a message pledging himself to help carry out the conclusions of the Conference.

After the Conference convened, I was asked to serve as chairman and Mr. Eddy as vice-chairman. The discussions during the two days were characterized by such wonderful frankness, unity, and constructive work as to be inexplicable to those familiar with the sad state of friction hitherto existing between the bodies concerned on any other ground save that of the overmastering power of God in answer to prayer. Among the matters on which unanimous agreement was reached were these : to unite in Christian student camps ; to unite in local conferences for the deepening of spiritual life, the development of missionary spirit, and the promotion of true fellowship ; to unite in apologetic lectures to educated non-Christians and in missions to the depressed classes, also to co-operate with the National Missionary Society of India (a highly significant action because, during long centuries, the Syrian Church has not been missionary) ; to unite in establishing a modern, model high school which might evolve into a college ; to combine in the training of workers ; to observe the principle that no person shall be received into another Church without the approval of the Church to which he originally belonged and that, in the case of dispute, the matter shall be referred to arbitration on a plan adopted at the Conference ; to constitute a Continuation Committee for giving effect to the decisions of the Conference and for fostering these remarkable beginnings of unity.

152. THE SERAMPORE COLLEGE ACT : BENGAL ACT NO. IV OF 1918

Serampore College, founded by the Serampore missionaries in 1819, was granted a Royal Charter by the King of Denmark in 1827. The validity of this charter was recognised by the British Government when they took over Serampore in 1845. The Act of 1918 recognized this and, further, constituted a Senate, which was to become the affiliating and degree recommending agency for Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican Theological Colleges throughout India. The Act was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 1st May 1918. Cited in George Howells, *The Story of Serampore and its College*, Appendix I, pp. 102-105.

Preamble.

1. Whereas, on the 23rd day of February, 1827, the institution established in Serampore, Bengal, and known as the Serampore College, was incorporated by the Royal Charter granted by his late Danish Majesty, King Frederick the Sixth, with the powers and privileges in the said Royal Charter set forth, including the power of conferring upon the students of the said College degrees of rank and honour according to their proficiency in science ;

And whereas by the article VI of the Treaty of purchase, dated the 22nd February, 1845, transferring Serampore to the British Government, it was provided that the rights and immunities granted to the Serampore College by the Royal Charter, as translated and contained in Schedule I to this Act, should not be interfered with, but should obtain by a Charter from the British Government, subject to the general law of British India ;

And whereas Statutes and Regulations for the better government of the said College and management of its concerns, as contained in Schedule II to this Act, were, on the twelfth day of June, 1833, made and established under the powers conferred by Article 4 of the said Royal Charter ;

And whereas, under the provisions of the Royal Charter, the Council of the College consists of a Master or President and two or four members elected as provided in the said Statutes and Regulations, and the management of the College and its general order and government is vested in the Master and the Council, and said power of conferring degrees of rank and honour is vested in the Council and their successors for ever ; . . .

And whereas it is deemed expedient by the Governor in Council, with the consent of the said Council of the Serampore College,

that a Faculty and Senate be constituted for the said College in manner hereinafter appearing and that suitable standards be imposed in regard to any secular degress that may hereafter be conferred by the said Council under the terms of the said Royal Charter ; . . .

Constitution of the Council.

2. (1) The Council of Serampore College as constituted by the Royal Charter of the 23rd February, 1827, shall be enlarged so as to consist of not less than five nor more than sixteen ordinary members, including the Master, as the Council may from time to time determine. The first Council constituted under this section shall include the present Master and President and other present members.

(2) At least one-third of the members of the Council shall be members of the Baptist denomination.

(3) The Master shall be the President of the Council.

(4) The Principal of the College, if not an ordinary member, shall be an additional member of the Council *ex-officio* during his term of office as the Principal of the College.

(5) Until otherwise determined by by-law made under section 14, three members of the Council shall form a quorum.

Constitution of the Senate.

3. The Senate shall consist of the Principal (who shall be convenor) and not less than twelve nor more than eighteen persons as the Council may from time to time determine, to be appointed by the Council :

Provided that—

(*a*) at least one and not more than three representatives of each of the following Christian denominations, viz., Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Syrian, shall, as far as practicable, be members of the Senate ;

(*b*) at least two-thirds of the members shall be persons other than professors, officials or functionaries of the College ;

(*c*) no less than one-sixth of the members shall be members of the College Faculty

153. THE TRANQUEBAR MANIFESTO (1919 A.D.)

Following a regular Indian ministers' meeting under the sponsorship of the Evangelistic Forward Movement held at Tranquebar, a Conference on Church Union was convened by Bishop V. S. Azariah. This conference was organized through the efforts of Meshack Peter of the South India United Church and V. S. Azariah of the Anglican Church and was held from 1st to 2nd May, 1919. The Manifesto proposing a union of their churches, and the procedures that might be adopted in effecting it, was signed by seven Anglicans and twenty-six members of the South India United Church, including two non-Indians. The Manifesto led to the beginning of negotiations that ended in the formation of the Church of South India in 1947. It has had extensive influence on the church union movement. Cited in Bengt Sundkler, *Church of South India: The Movement Towards Union* 1900-1947, pp. 101-103.

We, as individual members of the Anglican Communion and the South India United Church, having met at Tranquebar in the first ministers' conference on church union, after prayer, thought and discussion, have agreed on the following statement concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the South India United Church.

We believe that the union is the will of God, even as our Lord prayed that we might all be one, that the world might believe. We believe that union is the teaching of the Scripture. 'There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all.'

We believe that the challenge of the present hour in the period of reconstruction after the war, in the gathering together of the nations, and the present critical situation in India itself, call us to mourn our past divisions and turn to our Lord Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church. We face together the titanic task of the winning of India for Christ —one-fifth of the human race. Yet, confronted by such an overwhelming responsibility, we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions—divisions for which we were not responsible, and which have been, as it were imposed upon us from without; divisions which we did not create, and which we do not desire to perpetuate.

In this Church we believe that three Scriptural elements must be considered: (1) The *Congregational* element, representing 'the whole Church', with 'every member' having immediate access to God, each exercising his gift for the development of the whole body.

(2) We believe it should include the delegated, organized, or *Presbyterian* element, whereby the Church could unite in a General Assembly, Synods or Councils in organized unity. (3) We believe it should include the representative, executive, or *Episcopal* element. Thus all three elements, no one of which is absolute or sufficient without the other, should be included in the Church of the future, for we aim not at compromise for the sake of peace, but at comprehension for the sake of truth.

In seeking union, the Anglican members present stand for the one ultimate principle of *the Historic Episcopate*. They ask the 'acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character'. The South India United Church members believe it is 'a necessary condition that the Episcopate should reassume a constitutional form' on the primitive, simple, apostolic model. While the Anglicans ask for the Historic Episcopate, the members of the South India United Church also make one condition of union, namely the recognition of *spiritual equality*, of the universal priesthood of all believers, and of the rights of the laity to their full expression in the Church. They ask that this principle of spiritual equality shall be maintained throughout at every step of the negotiations.

Upon this common ground of the Historic Episcopate and of the spiritual equality of all members of the two churches, we propose union on the following basis :

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation.

(2) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.

(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted.

We understand that the acceptance of the fact of the Episcopate does not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of episcopacy nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact. It is further agreed that the terms of union should involve no Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, and we find it no part of our duty to call in question the validity of each other's orders.

Fully recognizing that we do not commit our respective bodies to any action, we individually and unofficially agree upon the following plan of union. After full deliberation, let the South India United Church, if it desires union, choose from its own members certain men who shall be consecrated as bishops. In the

consecration of these first bishops it is suggested that three or more bishops of the Anglican Church shall lay their hands upon the candidates, together with an equal number of ministers as representatives of the South India United Church.

As soon as the first bishops are consecrated, the two bodies would be in intercommunion, but the further limitation of existing ministers with regard to celebrating the Communion in the churches of the other body might still remain. In accordance with the principle of spiritual equality we desire to find some means to permit ministers of either body to celebrate the Communion in the churches of the other body. As one possible solution, we would suggest that a special Service of *Commission* should be held. All ministers of both bodies desiring authority to officiate at the Communion throughout the whole Church should present themselves to receive at the hands of all the bishops of the United Churches a commission for such celebration of the Communion. Ministers of either body not desiring to officiate at the Communion in the other Church would be under no obligation to present themselves. Full liberty would be claimed for individuals on the extreme wing of each body to maintain their present views and practices.

While not committing our respective bodies, we, unofficially and individually, with the blessing of God, agree to work toward union on such a bais.

Those present were :

Anglicans

The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Dornakal (V. S. Azariah), Rev. S. G. Maduram, Rev. J. B. Gnanaolivu, Rev. A. Devadas, Rev. A Savarimuthu, Rev. A. Ezekiel, Rev. D. Koilpillai (7).

South India United Church

Rev. V. Santiago, Rev. M. S. Taylor, Rev. Thangam Gabriel, Rev. P. Asirvadam, Rev. Y. J. Taylor, Rev. G. Vedanayagam, Rev. N. Gnanasigamani, Rev. Y. D. Samuel, Rev. Meshach Peter, Rev. P. Arivanandam, Rev. M. L. Jivaratnam, Rev. Benjamin Thomas, Rev. L. I. Stephen, Rev. G. Gnanamuthu, Rev. P. Thangamuthu, Rev. E. W. Thayil, Rev. M. Simon, Rev. D. C. Hutton, Rev. S. Soans, Rev. S. Ambatt, Rev. P. Zacharias, Rev. N. Edapalan, Rev. Ch. Herman, Rev. S. Paramanandam, Rev. H. A. Popley, Mr. G. Sherwood Eddy (26).

154. JOINT STATEMENT OF THE S. I. U. C. AND ANGLICAN CHURCHES (1920 A.D.)

Following the publication of the Tranquebar Manifesto a meeting of representatives of the South India United Church and the Anglican Church met in Bangalore in March, 1920, to discuss the question of union. Their joint statement, reproduced here, accepts the Manifesto position on episcopacy and defines the nature of the autonomy of the proposed united church. Cited in A. J. Arangadan, *Church Union in South India, its Progress and Consummation*, p. 16.

1. We believe that the principle of the Historic Episcopate in a constitutional form is that which is more likely than any other to promote and preserve the unity of the Church ; therefore, we accept it as a basis of union without raising other questions about episcopacy.

2. By Constitutional Episcopacy we mean :—

(*a*) that the Bishops shall be elected by representatives of the province.

(*b*) that the Bishops shall perform their duties constitutionally in accordance with such customs of the Church as shall be definited in a written constitution.

(*c*) that the continuity with the Historic Episcopate will be effectively maintained, it being understood that no particular interpretation of the Historic Episcopate be demanded.

3. We are agreed that after union all future ordinations to the Presbyterate would be performed by the laying on of hands of the Bishops and Presbyters ; and that all consecrations of Bishops would be performed by Bishops, not less than three taking part in each consecration.

4. By autonomy in the resultant Church we mean :—

(*a*) that the Church in India ought to be independent of the State.

(*b*) that the Church in India must be free from any control, legal or otherwise, of any Church or society outside India.

(*c*) that, while the Church in India is free from such control, it would regulate its actions by the necessity of maintaining fellowship with other branches of the Catholic Church with which we are now in communion.

With reference to the question of the equality of the ministry, it was recorded that the S.I.U.C. makes it a condition of union that its present ministers (Presbyters) shall after union be recognised as ministers (Presbyters) without re-ordination.

155. GANDHI'S ATTITUDE TO CHRISTIANITY : POLAK INTERVIEW (c. 1920 A.D.)

In an interview with Mrs. Polak, conducted some time around 1920, Mahatma Gandhi explains why he himself did not become a Christian and his attitude towards conversion. From *Gandhi, The Man*, p. 40. Cited in A. T. Hingorani, ed., *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 23-25.

Gandhiji : I did once seriously think of embracing the Christian faith. The gentle figure of Christ, so patient, so kind, so loving, so full of forgiveness that he taught his followers not to retaliate when abused or struck, but to turn the other cheek—I thought it was a beautiful example of the perfect man.

Mrs. Polak : But you did not embrace Christianity, did you ?

Gandhiji : No. I studied your Scriptures for some time and thought earnestly about them. I was tremendously attracted to Christianity, but, eventually I came to the conclusion that there was nothing really in your Scriptures that we had not got in ours, and that to be a good Hindu also meant that I would be a good Christian. There was no need for me to join your creed to be a believer in the beauty of the teachings of Jesus or to try to follow his example.

Mrs. Polak : Of course, it is what a man is that counts, not what he calls himself. But, tell me, do you believe in conversion, in changing from one form of faith to another ?

Gandhiji : What do you feel yourself ?

Mrs. Polak : It does not please me, some how. I could not do it.

Gandhiji : I think that is right. If a man reaches the heart of his own religion, he has reached the heart of the others, too. There is only one God, but there are many paths to Him.

Mrs. Polak : If *Karma* and re-incarnation be true, we are born into the faith to which we belong, and the one most suitable at the moment for our development. So, we should not change.

Teaching of Christianity

Gandhiji : What do you think is the essential lesson for man in the teaching of Christianity ?

Mrs. Polak : I could think of two or three but the one that stands out strongest in my mind at the moment is Love, which is expressed in the words : ' One is your Master, Christ, and all ye are brethren.'

Gandiji : Yes, and Hinduism teaches the same great truth, and Mohammedanism and Zoroastrianism, too.

Mrs. Polak : Do you think Hinduism does teach ' all men are brothers ' as Christianity does ?

Gandhiji : Do not take men's imperfect interpretation, as you see it, for the real teaching of any great faith. You would not suggest to me that the Christian world lives as brothers, would you ? Think of its wars, its hatreds, its poverty and its crime !

Mrs. Polak : That is true. I suppose the ideals of mankind are always far ahead of them, and men and women are very much the same in whatever part of the world you find them.

Gandhiji : If we realized our ideals, they would cease to be ideals. We should have nothing to strive for.

156. CHRISTIANS AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT : RESOLUTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS (1920 A.D.)

The first All-India Conference of Indian Christians, which brought together the various provincial Indian Christian Associations, was held in 1914. The leaders of the AICIC, who counted among their number the most highly qualified and influential Indian Protestant leaders of the pre-Independence period, were committed nationalists, but, as these resolutions indicate, were often reserved in their attitude towards the Indian National Congress. Selections from *Report of the VII All-India Conference of the Indian Christians held at Calcutta, Dec. 28th, 29th, 30th & 31st* 1920, pp. 32-36.

XV. That this Conference is strongly of opinion that Indian Christians should take an active part in all healthy political movements of the country and earnestly urges upon the community to support all that is good for the country and oppose that which may be harmful to the country and the Government of the land.

XVI. That while admitting that there are some causes for the present discontent in the country, this Conference of Indian Christians strongly condemns the policy of non-co-operation as proposed by the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta in September last and is decidedly of opinion that it is impracticable, unwise and unnecessary and is suicidal to the best interests of the country.

XVII. That in view of a state of flux in the principles and constitution of the Indian National Congress, it is the opinion of this Conference that Indian Christians should reserve judgement as to the advisability of either joining or refraining from joining the Indian National Congress.

157. GANDHI ON WESTERN CHRISTIANITY (1921 A.D.)

Cited from *Young India*, September 22, 1921, in A. T. Hingorani, *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 33-34.

I consider Western Christianity in its practical working a negation of Christ's Christianity. I cannot conceive Jesus, if he was living in the flesh in our midst, approving of modern Christian organizations, public worship or modern ministry. If Indian Christians will simply cling to the *Sermon on the Mount*, which was delivered not merely to the peaceful disciples but a groaning world, they would not go wrong, and they would find that no religion is false ; and that if all live according to their lights and in the fear of God, they would not need to worry about organizations, forms of worship and ministry. The Pharisees had all that, but Jesus would have none of it, for they were using their office as a cloak for hypocrisy and worse. Co-operation with forces of Good and non-co-operation with forces of Evil are the two things we need for a good and pure life, whether it is called Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

158. THE CHRISTUKULA ASHRAM (1921 A.D.)

One of the best known of the Christian ashrams established following the First World War is the Christukula Ashram of Tirupattur in North Arcot District. It was started by Dr. S. Jesudason and Dr. Ernest F. Paton in 1921. Writing some years later, Dr. Jesudason explains the rationale, origins and ideals of the ashram. Dr. Savarirayan

Jesudason, *Ashrams, Ancient and Modern. Their Aims and Ideals*, pp. 36-51.

In writing about this Ashram, we have felt it necessary to refer to personal experiences in order to make things clear, in the confidence that those for whom the pages are meant will understand the spirit in which they are written.

During the years immediately preceding the last dreadful war, many professing Christians seemed to recognize their kith and kin only in those of their own particular colour or race or nationality, or even in those only of their own particular little sect or denomi-

nation. With the nations of Europe all armed to the teeth, suspicious and defiant of one another, and with the Christian people blinded by this spirit of self-seeking isolation, it required no great prophet to foretell the bursting at any moment of the conflagration that involved almost every nation of the world. The organized churches that should have exercised a ministry of reconciliation and understanding, were carried away, and too often used as tools for war propaganda. The memory of those dreadful years is still vivid to every one, but although the eyes of many have been opened and some are filled with a new idealism of peace and reconciliation, the world seems to be now in an even worse plight. For the war has in most cases increased the materialistic outlook on life, opened up new channels for exploitation, and led to the discovery of new and more dreadful weapons of destruction.

There has been in almost every nation a turning away from organized forms of religion, as many really good people seem to have lost hope of the Christian Church as a vital force for bringing about the regenerated society they look for, or even for overcoming the forces making for war, hatred, and oppression. Because of its false associations, the very name 'Christian' is shunned by many who are Christlike in their life...

The Eastern nations are impatiently longing for the birth of a new freedom, both in their internal social order, and in the removal of those political and commercial disabilities imposed upon them by the more aggressive civilizations of the west arrogating to themselves a superior and dominating position...

Then again during these days the consciences of many have been stirred by the cruelty and injustice of colour and caste barriers. We see the results of these not only in international relationships, but wherever the different races are competing in civic, social and economic relationships. Sadder still, these false standards are often assumed as legitimate even within the Christian Church, as if they were part of a divine order and that for the sake of peace and efficiency it is good that the different groups be kept apart without allowing any dangerous intermingling...

It was for such a deeper personal experience of the life in Christ and the fellowship of love and the power for service springing out of it that we among many others were longing and still long and strive. There had also been growing in us both a strange longing for friendship with members of other races as we met few of such and began to realize something of the supra-national character of the kingdom of God, in which there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, East nor West, Black nor White. Many were sharing with us in these ideals and aspirations and yet we knew the practical

realization of them could only come as we made real attempts corporately, in little groups, to set out on the path even when we could see but a step or two ahead, in the faith that, as we strive to be true to the light already given, fresh light and better ways will be made clear to us...

So much for the establishment of the ideals which had been moving us. We felt that war was utterly opposed to Christ's teaching and we as his followers could not take part in it under any circumstances. But we hoped that by our working together we might be able to do something towards putting these ideals into actual practice...

For the great majority of the people the natural and the right thing is the married life and God has wonderfully ordained that man should co-operate in his creative work through the bringing up of children as members of His great family on earth, and hence the home is so sacred that it must have their first thought and devotion. There are others whose gifts and calling are for a different mode of life. To some rare few of these the presence of God is so real that without depending on any human companionship they go everywhere as wandering prophets or Sadhus of the Kingdom ; for others their fullest life purpose can only be fulfilled in loving comradeship in a group of those likeminded with themselves, devoting their whole life and energies for the fulfilment of a God-given vision. Jesus made this plain when he said that some had made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of God, (Matt. XIX., 11 & 12) and His own life on earth is the best example. For some of these who seek to fulfil their mission in life in such an intimate comradeship, the permanent membership of the ashram family is intended. We fully realized that permanent membership under these conditions could not be lightly undertaken, as it could only come about through growing personal understanding and love resulting from the bearing and sharing together of the joys and sorrows, failure and successes of the common life and service. So we also welcome those who desire to come for shorter periods for one or two years, whether they come with the purpose of later permanently joining the ashram family, or whether because of their other circumstances or obligations they can only be with us temporarily. These of course are not expected to make any decision as regards property or marriage, but share for the time being in the common life of the family.

In any case we felt we should not ask any to make a decision to join permanently until they have been at the ashram for at least four years. We also hope and expect that after having been in the ashram for one year, some may be led to definitely enlist themselves as probationers, *i.e.*, those who are trying their

vocation, and as such are being drawn closer into the family circle. By permanent members we mean those who have committed themselves to the ashram as a life call.

Men are often attracted to one another at first by each other's idealisms. As they live and work together in close contact they come to know more and more of each other's failures and angularities. This is a critical stage in fellowship. Have they the inner consciousness that they are children in the father's house and that their disunion would wound His love? Have they had the experience of that wonderful suffering love of Christ that has forgiven them so much? If so, will they not also forgive one another and continue a love which will only grow deeper the more it forgives? This is why the basis of the ashram family (as expressed in the constitution) is personal loyalty (*i.e.*, faith) and devotion to Jesus Christ. We do not enquire into a man's creed or theological views or Church connection, as his real fitness and capacity for sharing in the ashram family will be made clear in the daily round of life. We also realize that the 'Inner Light' illumines many honest souls who have not named the name of Christ, and such also we welcome to come and share in following the Light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day...

159. C.F. ANDREWS ON INDIAN INDEPENDENCE (1921 A.D.)

The English missionary, C. F. Andrews, who became a close associte of Mahatma Gandhi was one of the most influential of that small group of missionaries who were openly sympathetic to the Indian Nationalist movement. Like Gandhi, he was more concerned with the moral and spiritual consequences of continuing British rule than he was with the political implications. It is his concern with the degradation of the Indian spirit consequent upon colonial rule that is the main theme of the document reproduced here. Cited in Marjorie Sykes, *C. F. Andrews, Representative Writings*, pp. 74-78.

After many varied experiences in the British colonies I have been carried forward step by step to the conclusion that the goal of Indian freedom lies outside the British Empire. To arrive at such a conclusion has been no easy thing for me; it has represented the complete transformation of the hopes with which I came to India nearly eighteen years ago.

It is not the political, but the moral and spiritual side of this great issue of Indian independence which interests me most deeply. It involves, for me, a great issue still, an issue as wide as humanity,

the breaking down of the 'white' race supremacy which I hold to be the greatest menace on earth today. The question therefore is not one of politics, but of humanity.

This does not mean that foreign conquest is always, immediately, a disaster. The reign of Akbar was an untold blessing to India. But to *prolong* a foreign rule appears invariably to lead to disaster. And the whole controversy with England at the present time is that its rule in India has lasted too long.

Two historical maxims put foreward by Sir John Seeley, concerning Indian independence, long ago attracted my attention. These have seemed to me to be profoundly disturbing. They have forced me to see how deep the evil of *dependence* lies, and how hard it is to eradicate it. The first maxim may be quoted in Sir John Seeley's own words, as follows : *Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.* I wish every word of this sentence to be very carefully noted. Not every subjection, but subjection *for a long time*, is a potent cause of national deterioration.

The evils that arise, when subjection has eaten into the soul of the people, are only too well known. There is a slow undermining of the very foundations of truth and honesty and fearlessness of character, when everything is to be gained by accommodation and flattery. No material benefits can compensate for these vicious effects of foreign rule upon the truthfulness of the people's lives. There is the terrible fact of history to be faced. To remain any further in a state of dependence within the British Empire would appear to mean an increasing measure of national deterioration. We must, therefore, at once awake and shake ourselves free.

I have said to myself again and again, in silence : If this independence, which is every Englishman's birthright, has made my own life free and fearless, what right have I to enslave others? How can I refuse to allow the same freedom to every Indian? I had no answer to that question except to acknowledge the truth it contained.

In the European Middle Ages there was a striking phrase describing anything which brought stagnation upon the future ; it was called the *mortain*, the dead hand. I have seen the dead hand of an essentially foreign rule, such as British rule must always be, laid upon many things in Indian life that were vitally precious. Art, music, poetry, architecture, may for a time be quickened into activity by the impact of a foreign culture ; but the 'dead hand' inevitably creeps forward, if the impact is prolonged. In the life

of the villages of India, changes which brought the shock of novelty have also brought the shock of destruction. We can see the deadening touch of foreign interference upon many beautiful and natural village customs. I am eagerly longing to see this 'dead hand' removed from India altogether and the country once more entirely free and independent.

In very early days, while these thoughts were present with me, there came one of those sudden revelations of the truth, which are given like a flash from time to time. In the year 1907, at Aligarh, there had been a dispute between the students and the European staff. This had led to extreme bitterness, and provoked a College strike. The students refused to go back until their wrongs were righted. Early one morning at Delhi, Moulvi Nazir Ahmed and Munshi Zaka Ullah, whom I revered most deeply for their singular beauty of character, came to me with tears in their eyes to tell me that the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the darling treasure of their hearts, was on the point of ruin. They asked me to come with them to Aligarh, and we went together. I could feel the outraged spirit of the students, their resentment, their sense of humiliation and injustice. During that very night, when we were present at Aligarh, the insulted students burnt their college furniture, their beds and mattresses, their tables and books. The flames mounted to the skies, a symbol of the students' own flaming indignation. Later, after the strike was over, I asked Moulvi Nazir Ahmed what words of advice he had spoken to the students. He told me that he had said : 'You are slaves. What can we do ? Get back to your books and work. You are not free men, but slaves.'

These terrible words of the Moulvi Sahib whom I passionately loved, haunted me like an evil dream. Was that all the counsel he was able to give these young men at the very opening of their lives ? Was that in very truth these students' true position ? Were they *slaves* ? The more I thought over it, the more I found that the words had truth in them. This foreign subjection was a servitude of the soul, more insidious than any outward slavery. However much it might be disguised by a pleasing exterior, the true fact remained.

I went over and over again, in mind, Sir John Seeley's maxim, which I had just discovered: *Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.* The words *for a long time* stuck in my mind. I said to myself : 'This clearly must be ended.' It was not long after this that the central thought of Indian Independence became firmly established in my mind. I have tested it since by a hundred experiences abroad, but it has stood the test.

I have maintained in times past, and would still maintain, that the widespread teaching of English was of great benefit to India in the past. It was one of the most potent means of giving that shock, or stimulus, which India needed at one time in her history to rouse her out of sleep. It has given ideals of political freedom and of national unity, which have been invaluable. But the future of India, now that the shock and stimulus have been given, demands a return at all points to the mother tongue of each great province and the teaching of all subjects (except English itself) through the mother tongue. Dangers now lie ahead of India owing to the divorce between the English-educated men (who are forming a class by themselves) and the agricultural and town labourrers. Nevertheless, it is almost inconceivable in the present circumstances that such a vital educational change as this can take place, unless India ceases to be an 'integral part of the British Empire.'

The second of the two historical maxims presented by Sir John Seeley forces Indians into a dilemma from which there appears to be no escape. He faces the ultimate question of the withdrawal of the British Government from India. With regard to such a withdrawal, Sir John Seeley appears to think, the people of India have so lost the powers of self-government and self-defence, *that to withdraw the British Government would be the most inexcusable of all crimes*. The situation is as follows : If dependence and subjection to the foreign rule of the British Empire continue, then national deterioration of India is likely to increase. Yet withdrawal of India from the British Empire is becoming more and more difficult because of the dependence of Indians on British protection. The sentence implies that India has no way out of her difficulties. We are involved in a vicious circle.

I have thought over this problem for many years ; and I confess I could find no solution. But quite lately there has appeared to me to be one pathway out of this terrible dilemma. If India could be granted, before it is too late, some genius who could stir up the spirit of independence throughout the whole country, then there might be hope. If India could produce such an inspiring and unifying personality, then all might yet be well.

And surely this is what is happening today. At this most critical moment in Indian history, when subjection and dependence were becoming unbearable, we have been given one who has roughly shaken our age-long conventions and has uttered the mantram : 'Be free : be slaves no longer'!

With such a volcanic force as the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, there will be much destruction. But the new life-urge

from beneath has forced its way to the surface, and this in the end will be creative, not destructive ; it will go forward until the whole people is at last awakened to full national consciousness.

Whilst I myself find ground for hope and encouragement in the prospect which I have thus outlined, I have had myself, in the past, the strongest leaning towards a conservative and gradual ideal of progress ; I can understand the attraction which it has for many of the most thoughtful and patriotic Indian minds. But I would ask those who hold it, how can you face the historical prospect of an ever-increasing dependence, an ever-increasing deterioration, if the British imperial rule continues ? How can doles of Home Rule, meted out at the will of the rulers, create a new inner vital force ?

The doubt in my own mind has been so great, that I have most gladly turned for encouragement to the other prospect. There, in Mahatma Gandhi, we have a moral genius of the first order, who has revealed to us all the hidden power of a living freedom from within, who has taught us to depend, not on any external resources, but on ourselves. My whole heart goes out to his appeal, and I have a great hope that, along this path, independence will be reached at last.

160. THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE INDIAN CHURCH : RESOLUTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS (1921 A.D.)

In its 1921 resolutions, the AICIC reiterates its opposition to the Non-co-operation Movement. It also illustrates the fact that for Indian Christians the National Movement had ecclesiastical as well as political implications. The Indian Church, like the Indian nation, should be liberated from foreign rule. *Report of the VIII All-India Conference of Indian Christians held in Lahore, on 28th, 29th & 30th Dec.* 1921, pp. 40-41.

III. In view of the gravity of the political situation in the country and also in view of the possibility that the situation may become still more acute in the future, this Conference resolves :

(*a*) That in order to restore peace and harmony in the country it is necessary for Government to adopt a policy of conciliation, by ceasing to put into force the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and such other measures as have a repressive effect, and by releasing those arrested and imprisoned under these Acts ; while, on the other hand, the campaign of Non-co-operation should forthwith be

suspended by the Leaders of Non-co-operation, so as to facilitate a sane settlement under conditions essential for mutual understanding.

(*b*) That in order to facilitate a sane settlement, a Round Table Conference be arranged of some leading Non-co-operators, Moderates, and Government Officials to see on what grounds a compromise can be brought about.

(*c*) That a Committee of the following six gentlemen be appointed to take possible practical steps in this direction :— the President, Prof. S. C. Mukherji, Mr. A. Nundy, Mr. K. L. Rallia Ram, M.L.C., Mr. K. T. Paul, and Prof. Cornelius, this Committee being empowered to co-opt others and also to draw up their findings in the form of resolutions to be sent to the bodies mentioned below.

(*d*) That copies of these Resolutions and the Findings of the Round Table Conference (when ready) be forwarded to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, the President of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

Foreign Missions and the Indian Church

IV. This Conference is of opinion that the time has come,

(*i*) When Protestant Missions as such should be completely merged in the Indian Church and that in future all Foreign Missionaries should be related to it.

(*ii*) In the meantime the Missions should appoint Indians of ability and character on an increasing scale as their Lay and Ordained Missionaries.

(*iii*) In view of the complaints made by the various Missions that educated young Indian Christians of character are not available to take up positions of trust and responsibility, this Conference recommends that the policy of finding youngmen, who are suitable from other Missions, be adopted by all Missions instead of allowing denominational barriers to stand between such youngmen and responsible positions.

161. GANDHI ON CONVERSION AND THE INDIGENOUS IDENTITY OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS (1925 A.D.)

Writing on the subject of conversion and the life style and attitudes of Indian Christians, Mahatma Gandhi appeals to them not to equate Christianity with denationalization. *Young India*, August 20, 1925. Cited in A. T. Hingorani, ed., *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 25-28.

When I was a youth, I remember a Hindu having become a convert to Christianity. The whole town understood that the initiation took the shape of this well-bred Hindu partaking of beef and brandy in the name of Jesus Christ, and discarding his national costume. I learnt in later years that such a convert, as so many of my missionary friends put it, came to a life of freedom out of a life of bondage, to a life of plenty out of the one of penury. As I wander about throughout the length and breadth of India, I see many Christian Indians almost ashamed of their birth, certainly of their ancestral religion, and of their ancestral dress. The aping of Europeans on the part of Anglo-Indians is bad enough, but the aping of them by Indian converts is a violence done to their country and, shall I say, even to their new religion. There is a verse in the New Testament to bid Christians avoid meat, if it would offend their neighbours. Meat here, I presume, includes drink and dress. I can appreciate uncompromising avoidance of anything evil but where an ancient practice may be even desirable, it would be a crime to part with it when one knows for certain that the giving up would deeply hurt relatives and friends.

What Conversion should Mean

Conversion must not mean denationalization. Conversion should mean a definite giving up of the evil of the old, adoption of all the good of the new and a scrupulous avoidance of everything evil in the new. Conversion, therefore, should mean a life of greater dedication to one's own country, greater surrender to God, greater self-purification. Years ago, I met the late Kali Charan Bannerjee. Had I not known before I went there that he was a Christian, I should certainly not have noticed from the outward appearance of his home that he was one. It was no different from an odinary modern Hindu home,—simple and meagre in furniture. The great man was dressed like an ordinary un-Europeanized Hindu Bengali. I know that there is a marvellous change coming over Christian Indians. There is on the part of a large number of them a longing to revert to original simplicity, a longing to belong to the nation and to serve it, but the process is too slow. There need be no waiting. It requires not much effort. The

late Principal Rudra and I used often to discuss this evil tendency. I well remember how he used to deplore it. I am offering a tribute to the memory of a dead friend when I inform the reader that he used often to express his grief that it was too late in life for him to change some of the unnecessary European habits to which he was brought up. Is it not truly deplorable that many Christian Indians discard their own mothertongue, bring up their children only to speak in English? Do they not thereby completely cut themselves adrift from the nation in whose midst they have to live? But they may answer in self-defence that many Hindus, and even Mussalmans have become denationalized. The *Tu Quoque* argument serves no useful purpose. I am writing not as a critic but as a friend who has enjoyed the closest intimacy with hundreds of Christian Indians. I want my missionary friends and Christian Indians to reciprocate the spirit in which these lines are written. I write in the name and for the sake of heart unity which I want to see established among the people of this land professing different faiths. In nature, there is a fundamental unity running through all the diversity we see about us. Religions are no exception to the natural law. They are given to mankind so as to accelerate the process of realization of fundamental unity.

162. THE INDIAN CHURCH MEASURE (1927 A.D.)

Through the Indian Church Measure of 1927, the National Assembly of the Church of England severed the legal and jurisdictional connection between the Church of England and the (Anglican) Church in India. The independence thus granted the Indian Church of the Anglican communion had considerable influence upon Missions of other traditions working in India. Cited in C. J. Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, pp. 201-205.

To provide for the dissolution of the legal union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India, and to make provisions consequential thereon.

Whereas it is expedient that the legal union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India shall be dissolved, and that provision should at the same time be made for the last-mentioned Church as proposed to be constituted after the dissolution of the said union :

And whereas a petition to that effect has been presented to the Church Assembly by the General Council of the Church of England in India :

And whereas the Secretary of State in Council of India and the Governor-General of India in Council, and the Archbhishop

of Canterbury, and the bishops and duly appointed representatives of the clergy and the laity of the Church of England in India in Council assembled have approved the dissolution of such union :

1. In this Measure—

the expression ' date of severance ' means such day not less than two years or more than three years after the coming into operation of this Measure as the Governor-General of India in Council at the request of the General Council shall fix for the dissolution of such union as aforesaid ;

the expression ' Indian Church ' means, in respect of the period before the date of severance, The Church of England in India, and in respect of the period commencing on the date of severance, the Church of England in India as severed from the Church of England, notwithstanding the adoption by the said Church of any other name or names ;

the expression ' rule ' includes canon, article, declaration, constitution, and regulation ;

the expression ' the rules of the Indian Church ' means the ecclesiastical law and the articles, canons, doctrines, rite, rules, discipline and ordinances of the Indian Church existing at the date of the passing of this Measure with and subject to such modification or alteration, if any, as may after the passing of this Measure be duly made therein by the Indian Church ;

the expression ' Bishop of Calcutta ' means the occupant for the time being of the See of Calcutta, whether or not that See is Constituted an archiepiscopal see ;

the expression 'General Council' means the body recognised as such by the Bishop of Calcutta.

2. Upon the date of severance the union legally existing between the Church of England and the Church of England in India shall be dissolved, and—

(*i*) The enactment mentioned in the first column of the schedule to this Measure shall be repealed to the extent mentioned in the third column of the said schedule ;

(*ii*) The Metropolitan Bishop of the Indian Church shall not, in contemplation of the law, be subject to the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the obtaining of the Royal Mandate to consecrate shall not be necessary in the case of the consecration of a bishop for a charge in India, nor shall the Bishops in Foreign Countries Act, 1841, apply to the consecration of any such bishop, nor shall any bishop of any

diocese in England have any jurisdiction over the Indian Church in India ;

(*iii*) No ecclesiastical court or official of the Indian Church shall have or exercise any coercive jurisdiction ;

(*iv*) The ecclesiastical law of the Church of England, so far as it exists in India, shall in India cease to exist as law ; and no proceeding by way of rehearing or appeal from any decision, judgment, sentence, decree or other order of any ecclesiastical court or official of the Indian Church shall be entered, admitted, prosecuted, heard or determined in, by or before any of His Majesty's Courts of Justice in India or elsewhere, any Court of Commissioners delegate in India, or His Majesty in Council ;

(*v*) The rules of the Indian Church shall be binding on the members thereof for the time being in the same manner as if they had mutually agreed to be so bound, and shall be capable of being enforced in the temporal courts in relation to any property lawfully held on behalf of the said Church or any members thereof in the same manner and to the same extent as if such property had been expressly assured upon trust to be held on behalf of persons who should be bound.

As in the respects particularly in this section mentioned, so in all other respects the Church of England and the Indian Church shall, as from the date of severance, be legally severed, separate and distinct, and every law and custom shall, except as in this Measure expressly provided, be interpreted and applied accordingly.

3. (*i*) From and after the coming into operation of this Measure nothing in any Act of Parliament, law or custom, shall prevent the General Council from making, amending or repealing rules for the general management and good government of the Indian Church and the property and affairs thereof, whether in respect of the whole of the said Church, or according to provinces or dioceses or other areas, and rules so made may provide for the future making, amending or repealing of rules for the like purposes and prescribe the persons or bodies by whom, or by which, such rules may be made, amended or repealed :

Provided that no rules so made shall come into operation before the date of severance.

(*ii*) From and after the date of severance nothing in any Act of Parliament, law or custom, shall prevent the bishops, clergy and laity of the Indian Church from holding synods, councils or assemblies whether general, provincial, diocesan or according to other areas, or from electing representatives thereto ; or any

such synod, council or assembly from acting in accordance with the rules of the Indian Church for the time being.

(*iii*) Any rule of the Indian Church made by any synod, council, assembly or officer thereof shall not, after the date of severance, be subject to any legal limitation in respect to scope or effect (whether arising from the operation of an Act of Parliament or otherwise) other than such as would apply to the like rule if made by a voluntary association altogether distinct from the Church of England which should have come into existence on the date of severance :

Provided always that nothing in this section shall be deemed to confer upon the General Council or enable it to confer upon any other person or body of persons any coercive jurisdiction, without prejudice, however, to the operation of the law relating to obligations binding on persons who shall be deemed in accordance with subsection (*v*) of section 2 of this Measure, to have mutually agreed to be bound by any such rule.

4. (*i*) If for any temporal purpose in connection with this Measure, or if in any proceedings in any temporal court, it shall be necessary to determine whether any person is, or at any past date was, a member of the Indian Church or of any Church in communion therewith, a certificate under the hand of the Bishop of Calcutta stating that such person is or is not, or was or was not on a named past date, a member of the Indian Church or of a Church in communion therewith, shall conclusively determine the fact stated therein.

(*ii*) A Certificate purporting to be made and signed by the said Bishop shall be deemed to have been made and signed by him until the contrary be shown.

5. (*i*) The recognition of the General Council as such by the Bishop of Calcutta shall be sufficiently proved for all purposes by an expression of that recognition in writing under the hand of such Bishop ; and if any question at any future time shall arise as to whether any assembly was or was not the General Council for the purpose of this Measure, whether generally, or on a particular occasion, or at a particular time, such question shall be referred to the Bishop aforesaid, and by him finally decided.

(*ii*) (*a*) A document purporting to be a writing under this section, and to be signed by the Bishop of Calcutta shall be deemed to be such and to have been made and signed by him until the contrary is shown,

(*b*) No proceedings of the General Council, in pursuance of this Measure, shall be invalidated by any vacancy in

the membership of that Council or by any defect in the qualification or election of any member thereof.

6. Nothing in this Measure or in any Act of Parliament shall prevent any person who is or has been Bishop of any diocese in India from performing episcopal functions, not extending to the exercise of jurisdiction, in any diocese or reputed diocese at the request of the Bishop thereof.

7. This Measure shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by His Majesty in Council, but no date shall be so fixed unless and until an Act of Parliament is passed providing for the repeal of Part X of the Government of India Act so far as it relates to the Church of England.

8. This Measure may be cited as the Indian Church Measure, 1927.

163. INDIAN CHURCH ACT (1927 A.D.)

On 22nd December 1927, the British Parliament acted in consequence of the Indian Church Measure already passed by the National Assembly of the Church of England. Some of the provisions of the Indian Church Act are reproduced here. Cited in C. J. Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, pp. 209-218.

An Act to make provision incidental to and consequential on the dissolution of the legal union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India. (22nd December 1927).

Whereas by the Indian Church Measure, 1927, provision is made for the dissolution of the legal union between the Church of England and the Church of England in India :

And whereas for the purpose of giving effect to certain changes consequential on the said Measure it is expedient that the provisions hereinafter contained should be enacted by Parliament :

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

2. As from the date of severance—

(*iii*) No person shall be appointed or nominated by His Majesty by virtue of any existing right of patronage, appointment or nomination to any bishopric in the Indian Church ;

(*iv*) Every ecclesiastical corporation of the Indian Church whether sole or aggregate shall be dissolved...

3. Save as expressly provided in this Act or in rules made thereunder :

(*i*) Notwithstanding any defects or informalities in the documents or proceedings, it is declared that where any church or burial ground has been consecrated before the commencement of this Act with the approval or at the request of a competent civil authority and the site thereof was at the date of the sentence of consecration and has ever since remained vested in the Crown such consecration shall be deemed to have conferred upon the Indian Church and upon its officials and members respectively such rights of possession, control, and user of the site and buildings (if any) as they respectively would have had if prior to the pronouncing of the sentence of consecration the site and buildings had been conveyed or assured to a person or persons who hold the same on behalf or in trust for the Indian Church :

(*ii*) The Indian Church and the officials and members thereof respectively shall have and be entitled to exercise, after the date of severance, all such rights of possession, control and user of the site and buildings (if any) of any consecrated church or burial ground as the Indian Church and the officials and members thereof respectively had immediately prior to that date and all references to the ' United Church of England and Ireland ', ' the Church of England ' or ' the Church of England in India ' (whether such terms are used with or without the addition of the words ' as by law established ') in any petition or sentence of consecration or in any conveyance or declaration of dedication of the site of any such church or burial ground shall be construed as references to the Indian Church...

5. The Governor General of India in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of the State in Council of India and, save as by rules expressly provided, with the concurrence of the Bishop of Calcutta, may make rules—

(*i*) Regulating the licensing, posting, discipline, ministrations, duties and supervision of chaplains ;

(*ii*) Providing for episcopal ministrations and the making of grants out of the revenues of India in respect thereof ;

(*iii*) Regulating the removal of churches from and the addition of churches to the list contained in the Second Schedule to this Act, and the transfer of churches from one Part or sub-division of a Part of the list to another Part or sub-division ;

(*iv*) Making provision for vesting any Maintained Churches, and the goods and ornaments thereof, in the Indian Church Trustees, or in any other person or persons, subject to any conditions that may be prescribed regarding the use of the churches while so vested ;...

6. (*i*) At any time after the commencement of this Act, the General Council may by resolution appoint such number of persons as they shall see fit (not being less than three) to represent the Indian Church and to hold property for any uses or purposes thereof, and when it is shown to the satisfaction of His Majesty the King that the said Council has appointed such persons His Majesty the King in Council may by charter incorporate them and their successors with power to hold land without license in mortmain under the name of the Indian Church Trustees.

(*ii*) At any time after the commencement of this Act and before the date of severance, any corporation or corporations sole or aggregate which will be dissolved under paragraph (*iv*) of section two of this Act may, be proclamation in writing, vest any property subject to this Act held by it or them, severally or jointly, in any society or body of trustees duly registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, or the Indian Companies Act, 1913, and that society or body shall hold such property on the same trusts or for the same purposes on or for which corporation or corporations held it...

10. The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872, shall apply to the Indian Church on and after the date of the severance in like manner in all respects as it applied to the Indian Church before the date of severance.

11. This Act shall come into operation on the date fixed by His Majesty in Council for the coming into operation of the Indian Church Measure, 1927.

12. This Act may be cited as the Indian Church Act, 1927.

164. DESCRIPTION OF THE CHRISTIAN VILLAGE OF MARYABAD (1929 A.D.)

This is a description of the establishment and subsequent history of a Roman Catholic village in the Punjab. It is found in ' Missiones-Relatio Missionis Lahorensi ', *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, pp. 67-70.

History.—In March 1892, Mgr. Vanden Bosch bought from Government in public auction, 150 acres of land situated on the Chenab Colony in the Gujranwala District for Rs. 6,500.

The first caravan consisting of RR. FF Lievin and Engelbert and three Christian families left Daoki (Sialkot) on January 8th 1893 and after six days' march reached the land on a Saturday and placed it under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary in whose honour

it was dedicated and named ' Maryabad ', i.e., ' Abode of Mary.' Three months later, on April 3rd 1893, Father Felix and Father Desire were sent out to the new settlement to minister to the spiritual wants of the pioneers and to guide them in their labours. By 1895 the number of Christians had increased to about 500.

At that time a favourable and unique opportunity offered itself : five hundred acres of adjacent land were bought from S. Gulab Singh for Rs. 25,000, in order to increase the size of the individual holdings hitherto too small for profitable working.

During the years of famine (1895-96) several Protestant families who had leased land from Mahommedan or Hindu colonists had to leave their holdings and not knowing where to go came to Maryabad where they were allowed to stay. They were well to-do people, had sufficient money and plenty of grain, and could, therefore, subsist on a small plot of land till better times. Other relatives of the former settlers arrived and the number of Christians rose to over a thousand. To work the colony successfully Fr. Felix helped them to buy bullockcarts, found them work in transporting the produce of his land and that of the surrounding villages to the nearest market, etc. Others had to burn bricks, others, again, had to help in the erection of the various large and beautiful buildings of Maryabad, and thus by thrift and careful administration all the people became happy and prosperous.

On October 4th 1896, the foundation stone was laid for a chapel ; and later a presbytery, capable of housing four missionaries was erected, both being completed by 1898, by which time a well had also been sunk, furnishing a pure drink supply, doing away with the danger of further epidemics caused by polluted water. The church was solemnly blessed on December 8th, 1898 by Mgr. Pelckmans, Bishop of Lahore, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph. A school and an orphanage for boys, and another for girls, a convent and a dispensary were built and all these Institutions were furnished and decorated throughout, the church being ornamented with oil paintings executed by Brother Florentin.

Before Maryabad had completed the first decade of its existence, the Christian community was fully organised. The village plot had been intersected by broad roads, with trees growing on each side of them, and lined by houses providing accommodation sufficient for one thousand inhabitants of the place. The farm land adjoining the village had been cut up into fair-sized plots and brought under profitable cultivation. Sheds had been erected for storing grain and field produce. Industries had been established to provide employment for those whose services could not be utilised

on the land ; and the entire colony had been placed on a firm financial footing, and was capable of supporting its entire native population as well as the white missionaries. Several German Brothers were in charge of the boys' school and orphanage and assisted Fr. Felix in ministering to the spiritual needs of the converts ; Franciscan Sisters of the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons looked after the girls' school and orphanage and the dispensary, and taught catechism to old and young females.

165. CONGREGATIONALIST CRITICISM OF THE PROPOSED SCHEME OF UNION IN SOUTH INDIA (1929 A.D.)

These critical comments by A. H. Legg, a London Missionary Society missionary, were in response to the publication, in 1929, of the First Edition of the Scheme of Union put forward by negotiators representing the South India United Church, the Anglican Church, and the (English) Wesleyan Methodist Church. Legg spoke for a number of persons both within the SIUC and abroad who felt that union on the proposed terms was sacrificing too much Christian liberty. From a pamphlet entitled ' An Examination from the Congregational point of view, with some suggestions ', cited in A. J. Arangadan, *Church Union in South India, its Progress and Consummation*, pp. 35-43.

The advocates of the scheme claim that an attempt has been made to conserve for the united Church the elements of value in each of the traditions that are to be brought together, and the scheme itself contemplates affiliation with, amongst others, the World Union of Congregational Churches. It seems to me doubtful whether the vital elements in such diverse traditions as are represented can be preserved in any scheme which contemplates so close and rigid an organic union as this scheme does. But let us examine some of the vital elements in Congregationalism and see what prospect there is of their conservation. We have, of course, to bear in mind that Congregationalists who have entered the S.I.U.C. have already to some extent modified their congregational practices. We shall refer again to this matter later. Meanwhile it will be interesting to see how far this new scheme will take us from the strictly Congregational position.

1. *The individual congregation and the individual church member.* One of the most obvious characteristics of historic Congregationalism has been the importance it has attributed to the individual congregation and to the individual church member. The ideal of a Congregational Church is a group of sincere believers in Christ, conscious that they are called by Him out of a wordly life, to live in fellowship. Gathered together in solemn meeting

they believe their Lord is in the midst of them guiding them by His Spirit. Thus they cannot submit their consciences to be guided by any outside authority. Hence such a congregation claims the right to govern itself, to call its own minister, to decide its own membership, to decide its own form of worship, and to formulate its own statement of belief if it desires to do so. It may take advice from outside its membership, but the responsibility of decision remains with it. In this governance of the Church each adult communicant member has an equal voice. The knowledge and gifts of the members will certainly vary and so will the influence they exert on the common life. But we cannot confine the guidance of the Holy Spirit either to the intellectually gifted or to the theologically learned . . . each member should, in fact, feel a personal responsibility to participate in (the affairs of the Church) to the best of his opportunity and ability.

Now in the United Church as outlined in this scheme it seems certain that this emphasis on the importance of the individual congregation and individual church member would disappear. They would be swamped in a vast and complex organisation, would become mere cogs in the machine. A church would not be able to call its own minister or suspend its own backsliding members. The bishop or the Diocesan Council might often act in accordance with the wish and judgement of the congregation, but they might also often act contrary to them . . .

2. *The ministry and the sacraments.* Congregationalists believe in a ministry. But they have no room for priests. Let me explain more closely what I mean, for the terms are open to various interpretations. We believe in a ministry in the sense that we believe that Christ calls certain people to devote themselves specifically to the work of the Church and of evangelisation, and that the Holy Spirit guides the Church to set apart such people for that work. But we do not believe that there are any functions of the ministry which cannot be properly and validly performed by unordained members of the Church . . .

From what has been said above it will be clear that our idea of the ministry leaves no room for the theory of Apostolic Succession, for that introduces again the idea of a ministry to which certain graces and powers are inherent and restricted. Now the Proposed Scheme does not include belief in the theory of Apostolic Succession. It bases itself on the ' Historic Episcopate in a constitution form and distinctly says that no particular theory concerning episcopacy is intended to be implied thereby . . .

3. *Creeds.* I do not think that as Congregationalists we have any fundamental objection to statements of belief provided that they are not thrust upon us by others against our conscience. But

creeds have too often in the past been used as tests to curtail the liberty of Christian men to follow what they believed to be the guidance of the Holy Spirit for us to be altogether comfortable about accepting them. The Scriptures are the ultimate standards of faith. But they, it is said, are liable to diverse interpretations, may be quoted to support almost any view, and contain much besides what is of vital importance to the Christian faith. Hence the necessity, it is argued, for a creed to give in a brief form the vital elements of the Christian faith and the Church's official interpretation of them. There are advantages here, but not so many as might seem. Creeds seem invariably to contain some matters of historic fact or theological theory which can hardly be said to be essential to a saving faith in Christ, and in common practice belief in the various clauses is not considered equally vital. Even with creed, too, there is room for various interpretations to creep in. Hence it is a little difficult to see what advantage there is in adding the creed to the Scripture as the standard of faith . . .

4. *Relations with other Churches.* This is a vital subject. Would the Scheme end by restricting such freedom as we now have in our relationships with other Churches ? Or would it bring us into closer fellowship with other Churches ? Let us take first the question of recognition of ministry and intercommunion with other churches. As Congregationalists we are willing to recognise the ministry of all churches as valid ministries, and we are willing to have intercommunion with all who are willing so to allow us.

166. GANDHI ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE NATIONAL LIFE (1929 A.D.)

In the March 21, 1929, issue of *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi expresses the opinion that Christianity has made little positve contribution to National Life in India. Cited in A. T. Hingorani, *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 57-58.

Q. What is the contribution of Christianity to the national life of India ? I mean the influence of Christ as apart from Christianity, for, I am afraid, there is a wide gulf separating the two at present.

A. Aye, there lies the rub. It is not possible to consider the teaching of a religious teacher apart from the lives of his followers. Unfortunately, Christianity in India has been inextricably mixed up for the last one hundred and fifty years with the British rule. It appears to us synonymous with materialistic civilization and imperialistic exploitation by the stronger white races of the weaker races of the world. Its contribution to India has been, therefore, largely of a negative character.

167. GANDHI'S DIALOGUE WITH J. R. MOTT (1929 A.D.)

A conversation between Mahatma Gandhi and John R. Mott on the subject of conversion was reported in the March 21, 1929, issue of *Young India*. Cited in A. T. Hingorani, *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 58-59.

Dr. Mott : Do you disbelieve in all conversion ?

Gandhiji : I disbelieve in the conversion of one person by another. My effort should never be to undermine another's faith, but to make him a better follower of his own faith. This implies belief in the truth of all religions and, therefore, respect for them. It again implies true humanity, a recognition of the fact that the Divine Light having been vouchsafed to all religions through an imperfect medium of flesh, they must share, in more or less degree, the imperfection of the vehicle.

Dr. Mott : Is it not our duty to help our fellow beings to the maximum of truth that we may possess, to share with them our deepest spiritual experiences ?

Gandhiji : I am sorry I must again differ from you, for the simple reason that the deepest spiritual truths are always unutterable. That Light, to which you refer, transcends speech. It can be felt only through the inner experience. And then the highest truth needs no communicating, for it is by its very nature self-propelling. It radiates its influence silently as the rose its fragrance without the intervention of a medium.

Prophets Speak through their Lives

Dr. Mott : But even God sometimes speaks through His prophets.

Gandhiji : Yes but the prophets speak not through the tongue, but through their lives. I have, however, known that in this matter I am up against a solid wall of Christian opinion.

Dr. Mott : Oh, no. Even among Christians there is a school of thought,—and it is growing—which holds that the authoritarian method should not be employed, but that each individual should be left to discover the deepest truths of life for himself. The argument advanced is that the process of spiritual discovery is bound to vary in the case of different individuals according to their varying needs and temperaments. In other words, they feel that propaganda, in the accepted sense of the term, is not the most effective method.

Gandhiji : I am glad to hear you say this. That is what Hinduism certainly inculcates.

168. RADHAKRISHNAN ON THE ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES TO OTHER RELIGIONS IN INDIA (1929 A.D.)

In this portion of his book, *East and West in Religion*, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan surveys critically the changing attitudes of Christian missionaries towards non-Christian religions in India since the advent of the East India Company's rule. *East and West in Religion*, pp. 21-25.

This point can be illustrated by a reference to the delicate question of the attitude of the Christian missionaries in India to Indian faiths. This attitude has changed somewhat in the same way as have the political relations between Great Britain and India. The latter may be broadly distinguished into the three stages of (1) The East India Company, (2) The British Empire, (3) The British Commonwealth of Nations. In the first stage, India was simply a field for exploration. She had no rights of her own and John Company did not believe it necessary to treat her with any respect, much less reverence. The Christian missionaries of that day did not recognize anything vital or valuable in the Indian religions. For them, the native faiths were a mass of unredeemed darkness and error. They had supreme contempt for the heathen religions and wished to root them out, lock, stock and barrel. It is a natural tendency of the human mind to suppose that its own god is God of all the earth, while all other gods are ' mumbo jumbo ' made with human hands. Bishop Heber's famous hymn brings out admirably this attitude of iconoclasm. That Christianity is the one true religion and all other religions are utterly false has been the belief not only of the rank and file in the Christian Church but also of many Christian men and women of high intellectual standing. This agressive propaganda lacked the one thing needful—charity.

In 1858, after the great Indian Mutiny—a mutiny was necessary —the British Government took charge of India and recognized certain rights and interests of the Indian people ; but India became a dependency, a means to an end, and the interests of Great Britain were paramount. All the same, it is an improvement on the conditions of the East India Company. Similarly the Christian missionaries of the second stage realized the futility of aggressive propaganda, and did not dismiss the Indian faiths as a mass of superstition and a sink of iniquity, but regarded them as possessing some virtues of their own. For a religious development existing over forty centuries and attaining spiritual heights which challenge comparison with the best products of other religions cannot be set aside as having no survival value. The other systems came to be regarded as a preparation, and Christianity as a crowns and completion of them all. While the first attitude is reminiscent

of the spirit of Tertullian, who could see in paganism nothing but the work of the devil, the second has the support of St. Paul and Origen, who recognized on every side signs of the preparation for the Gospel. St. Paul regarded the pagans as 'seeking after God if haply they might find Him.' His policy of being all things to all men is not the result of an ignorant opportunism. The same attitude is present in the Fourth Gospel, many of the Greek Fathers, the schoolmen of the Middle Ages and the Christian Platonits. It is argued that everything of value in the old religion is conserved in the new, for Jesus came to fulfil and not destroy. The series of volumes in *The Religious Quest of India* illustrates the second stage. But there is, right through, the imperialistic note that Christianity is the highest manifestation of the religious spirit ; that it is the moral standard for the human race while every other religion is to be judged by it.

In 1917, in the middle of the War—a war was necessary ; cold metal never mixes ; only when thrown into the fire its hardness melts—a new conception of the relations between Great Britain and India was announced, and India was told that she would be a member of the British Commonwealth of Free-governing Nations, an equal partner for imperial and international purposes. It is no more a question of exploitation as in the days of John Company, or domination as in those of the Empire, but one of free partnership. This goal is yet in the region of ideals and does not belong to the realm of achievement. The War was a great testing time for the Christian religion, which seemed to be identified during its continuance with bloodshed on a gigantic scale. A mood of self-reproach and self-criticism supervened, and the new atmosphere gave greater scope for the understanding of the spirit and value of other faiths.

169. ENGLISH METHODISTS ON THE SOUTH INDIA UNION SCHEME (1930 A.D.)

Of all the church bodies negotiating church union in South India the Wesleyan Methodists had the least difficulties accepting it, both in India and in England. The following resolution of the Pastoral session of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference held at Leeds in 1930 represents a positive reaction to the First Edition of the Scheme of Union (1929). Cited in A. J. Arangadan, *Church Union in South India, its Progress and Consummation*, pp. 74-75.

1. The Conference has received with profound thankfulness the 'Proposed Scheme of Union' prepared by the Joint Committee of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon the South India United Church and the South India Provincial Synod of the

Wesleyan Methodist Church for presentation to the governing bodies of these Churches in India and elsewhere. The Conference believes that organic union is in the interests of the Kingdom of God in India, and rejoices at the spirit of union which the Scheme manifests. It renders thanks to the great Head of the Church, Who by His Spirit has guided the representatives of these churches to so large a measure of agreement on questions of such great importance to the Church of Christ in South India and to the spread of His Kingdom there.

2. The Conference authorises the South India Provincial Synod to continue the consultations with the representatives of the other churches concerned, and will watch with the most sympathetic interest the further progress of such consultations.

3. The Conference instructs the Joint Committee of the Missionary Committee and the Committee on Faith and Order to continue their consideration of the whole scheme, and also to receive and consider any recommendations or information which may be received from the South India Provincial Synod or other sources, and to present a report to the next Conference.

170. E. STANLEY JONES ON THE ASHRAM IDEAL (1930 A.D.)

The description by E. Stanely Jones, the well known Methodist missionary, of the ashram ideal was written in the year (1930) that he established the summer ashram at Sat Tal. Cited in Brenton Thoburn Badley, ed., *Indian Church Problems of Today*, pp. 49 ff.—

1. A center that would be truly Christian and truly Indian.

2. Racial lines would be abolished and everyone in the Ashram would live alike.

3. The dress, the food, the manner of eating would be Indian.

4. As we would expect Hindus to come and share life with us for longer or shorter periods the food would be vegetarian.

5. There would be practically no servants as each member of the Ashram would take turns in serving the rest.

6. Working with the hands would be respectable, for all would do it both in the fields and in some cottage industry.

7. In the Ashram we would try to make the Indian spirit creative in art, in music and in Christian thinking.

8. There would be created a group that would study the Gospel, its relationship to India's heritage and to India's present religions and to the national life of India.

9. Out of this group thinking and group meditation we would hope to create a literature for both Christian and non-Christian.

10. The Ashram would be a place to which Indian workers and laymen and missionaries would come for short periods for quiet meditation and prayer and the recouping of the spiritual life for renewed touch with the soul of India.

11. When the Ashram has found its own soul we would add a Christokul in which boys would learn to be Christian in an Indian atmosphere, where they would be taught by precept and example the way of service, of self-reliance, of love of the Motherland, of service to the country apart from employment by Missions. They will be taught work with the hands by which they will go out to support themselves while serving the country.

12. No salaries will be paid in the Ashram. Those permanently connected with the Ashram will receive food and clothes, both of which will be simple and Indian. Temporary visitors will be supposed to contribute a voluntary contribution for their stay.

13. The breath of the Ashram will be prayer. There will be prolonged periods of silence. The devotional life will be emphasized and deepened.

14. The Ashram will be Christian, not denominational. Denominational lines will fade out. We trust the Ashram will also be a place where Hindus and Moslems might come to study in an Indian atmosphere the meaning of the Gospel and where those who have just begun the Christian way may come to be established and get a firmer grip upon the Christian spirit, outlook and way of life.

171. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE ON CHURCH UNION, NAGPUR (1931 A.D.)

The All-India Conference on Church Union was convened at Nagpur in accordance with a resoluion of the Round Table Conference (North India negotiations) held at New Delhi in 1930. It met to ' consider the principles that should be accepted in the formation of a United Church for India ', and thus brought together those involved in church union discussions in both the south and north. Cited in A. J. Arangadan, *Church Union in South India, its Progress and Consummation*, pp. 100-102.

This Conference of members of Churches in North and South India, appointed to ' consider the principles that should be accepted in the formation of a united Church for India ', records the following resolutions :—

1. That in Christ individual Christians in the various Churches in this land are already joined together in faith and experience.

2. That, since the barriers that keep the members of the various Churches from a fuller and more effective realisation of their essential unity are the result of conflicting types of Church polity that have grown up in the West, it is imperative that these differences should not be perpetuated in India.

3. That the present situation constitutes a call to earnest prayer for unity and for God's guidance and blessing in all efforts to promote union, to the end that the Church in India, realising that Christ is the Head of His Church, ever supplying new energy and wisdom by the Holy Spirit, may bear victorious witness to the saving grace of God and thereby hasten the coming of His Kingdom in this land.

4. That, in order to promote the cause of union, the Conference urges :—

(*a*) That definite steps be taken to associate members of the various Churches in united evangelistic efforts and other forms of Christian service.

(*b*) That, since such co-operation will reveal the need for closer association, in worship, the Churches should give opportunity for, and make every endeavour to promote, common acts of worship, including the partaking together of the Sacrament of Holy Communion.

(*c*) That, a definite system of recommendation of members, applicable to all Churches, be devised, whereby the members of any Church, owing to change of residence, may not drift away from Christian worship and fellowship.

(*d*) That definite opportunities be provided for the interchange of ministries in the preaching of the Word and other forms of service, in order that all the Churches may share the gifts of the Spirit which have been so abundantly manifested in the ministries of the various Churches.

(*e*) That, inasmuch as the present restrictions to Christian fellowship largely arise from different conceptions of the ministry, and it is only by a solution of this problem that the Church can be united, it is essential that the question of the unification of the ministry be examined and agreement reached regarding principles of Church organisation and government.

5. That, with regard to the type of organisation that may ultimately prove acceptable for a united Church in India, the Conference records its opinion that this would be found through the general adoption of a constitutional episcopate responsible to representative assemblies and synods, in a form that would comprehend, as far as practicable, the advantages of the episcopal, presbyterian and congregational modes of government.

6. In Resolution No. 5 the phrase 'a constitutional episcopate' is not used as a synonym for *the historic episcopate*. There are Churches in India which are by no means ready to accept the latter phrase or its supposed implications. On the other hand, there are some who value the phrase, *the historic episcopate*, as expressing their belief in the necessity for securing continuity with the ministry of existing episcopal Churches.

While the Joint Committee of South India has found it possible to adopt the phrase on the distinct understanding that no doctrinal implications of apostolic succession, sacerdotalism, or the three Orders of the ministry are implied by its use, it is still possible that a further solution of the problem may be found. The Conference, therefore, considers that no such initial difficulty should be allowed to prevent the various Churches from discussing the problem and working for union. It believes that no Church ought to demand the abandonment of a doctrine held in another Church as a preliminary to such discussions. No union can hope to be successful where conscientious beliefs are stifled. A united Church must aim at inclusion, not exclusion. The existence of the difficulty constitutes an added call to prayer.

7. God wills unity. Jesus Christ prayed for unity. The Holy Spirit urges us to unity. The Conference, therefore, concludes these resolutions by calling once more upon all Churches that constant prayer be made for the consummation of His purpose in and through all negotiations for Church Union in India.

172. S. K. DUTTA'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO COMMUNAL ELECTORATES (1932-33 A.D.)

S. K. Dutta was a prominent Indian Christian nationalist. In his Presidential Address to the eighteenth session of the A.I.C.I.C. at Nagpur, he reviews current constitutional developments in the country and opposes the Government policy of dividing constituencies on a communal basis. His arguments had considerable influence upon Indian Christian thinking on this subject. *Report of the XVIII Annual Session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, Nagpur, 31st Dec.* 1932 & 1*st January*, 1933, pp. 7-13.

A decade has gone by since the last occasion when I had the privilege of addressing you in my capacity as President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians. At Lucknow, in 1922, it was my lot to make a pronouncement on your behalf on matters that affected the interest of our community. Once again you have entrusted me with this responsibility, and I would at the very outset express to my constitutents throughout India my thanks for the great honour they have done me in inviting me to be their President. Your election of me to this office gives me at this time particular gratification, for I accept it as an endorsement by the community of the representation I exercised on their behalf at the second session of the Round Table Conference.

Ten years is a long span in the history of India. For these years have been filled with our strivings and demands, with objectives, some of which have been attained, and others have receded. There has been victory and defeat, success and failure. But all through these years, as we now reflect upon them, there are signs that our people have at last awakened to the importance of the issues which to-day are in the progress of settlement.

In order to be concrete and definite, I shall attempt to address this gathering on certain aspects of our problems which affect us as a community. I shall speak first of our relationship with the Government ; second, our relationship with other communities ; third, our relationship with the Catholics ; and fourth our relationship with ourselves.

1. Our Relationship with the Government

The country for the space of some years has now embarked on the intriguing problem of drafting a political constitution for India. In this effort our community too has taken some little share and the Government, at any rate, at certain stages, has been willing to consult us either directly or through our organisations, or through individuals. At times it has definitely asked for our representation on certain important matters. Thus our organisation gave evidence before the Simon Commission. Subsequently some of our leaders definitely presented Memoranda to the Franchise Committee.

At the time of the first Round Table Conference, Mr. K. T. Paul, who had held office in our organisation, was nominated to represent our community. After his lamented death I was thus nominated and represented the Indian Christian Association at the second Round Table Conference. Subsequently His Majesty's Government, in consultation with the Government of India, after the close of the second Round Table Conference appointed a Continuation Committee as well as a Franchise Committee. The official designation of the former was the Consultative Committee. Now on both these committees our community was left unrepresented, though every other community with the exception of the Anglo-Indian (a community of not more than two hundred thousand souls) were actually represented. Whether this omission was intentional or whether the Government felt that no good purpose would be served by the inclusion of representatives of the Indian Christian community, I think that, in view of this omission, we are justified in our attitude as regards the conclusions of these Committees, that we are not bound to accept their recommendations. The Consultative Committee for example recommended that His Majesty's Government should undertake the responsibility for a communal settlement. We were not a party to that request, and I would like to say immediately that we repudiate the Prime Minister's Award as far as it applies to Indian Christians, for communally speaking, our interests have been sacrificed to placate other communities. Take for example the most glaring instance of the position of the Christian community in the Madras Presidency under the terms of the Award. Under the Montague Reforms, the Christians of the Madras Presidency received five seats in the Madras Legislature, whereas the Moslems had 13 seats accorded to them. This proportion had some relationship to the comparative population figures of the Muslim and Christian communities, but under the Prime Minister's Award, however, the Madras Christians will receive 9 seats, and the Muslims 29 seats. While we have no right whatsoever to disturb the extraordinary weightage

given to the Muslim community, yet we cannot allow to pass without protest the subordinate position as a minority to which our community is now relegated. But our position is still worse when it comes to the claims of the Anglo-Indian and European communities. In the Central Provinces, the 4,000 Europeans and the 6,000 Anglo-Indians receive at least one seat. The claims of 45,000 Indian Christians are dismissed in a few words, i.e., that the community is a scattered one, and it is difficult therefore to form it into a constituency.

The Third Session of the Round Table Conference was marked by the complete elimination of all Indian Christian representatives though it included the redoubtable representative of so minor a community as the Anglo-Indian. Here I tread on ground which is naturally very delicate. A certain section of the press is always ready to attribute base motives to Indians in public life with whom they happen politically to disagree ; such organs will readily say that we are soured by our experience just because we were not included in the final delegation to the Round Table Conference. Whatever motives may be attributed, the fact remains that the claims of the Indian Christian community were completely overlooked by the Government. Even though as has been alleged in certain quarters that I was personally unrepresentative of the Indian Christian community, but what was there against my senior colleague, Rao Bahadur Pannirselvam, who has twice represented the majority section of the Indian Christian community and who was a signatory to the Minorities Pact in such good and unquestionable company as His Highness the Aga Khan, Col. Sir Henry Gidney, Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Hubert Carr. Why was the Rao Bahadur's name omitted from such an unimpeachable list ? All the others found their way to the third and we hope the last Round Table Conference, but his name was omitted.

That the Indian Christian community and only that community was singled out for omission from representation at the Round Table Conference has proved a disillusioning experience to those of our number who have looked to the present Government for the protection of its interests.

Some members of our community, and they are not unsubstantial in number, have demanded separate electorates as a device for protection. Their deputation have awaited from time to time on Governors asking for the recognition of their claims. In these efforts a certain amount of quite natural self-advertisement is discernible, but on the other hand we have not shown any capacity to demand effectively that our rights are recognized. Jobs and seats have been the tunes we have played, but neither the Government nor other communities have danced to our tunes. It is

humiliating to realise that our efforts have been more or less in vain and will continue to be in vain unless we show our capacity to assert ourselves. The device of separate electorates without some force at the command of the community is of no use whatsoever in obtaining for us either protection or the satisfaction of our claims.

2. Our Relationship with other Communities

During the year very substantial advances have been made towards an understanding with other communities, but in this connection it will be necessary to use plain words, to indicate the concrete objectives to which your leaders have applied themselves. First, so far as the electors from the Hindu community, who now will be veiled under the term of the General Constituency, is concerned, we have been asked to throw in our lot with them. We would, in other words, become a portion of the Hindu Constituency. Naturally a proposal such as this which alienates our community from the Muslim community in the Punjab and in Bengal must give us a certain amount of trepidation. The General Constituencies in these Provinces, from which the Muslims and the Sikhs have been withdrawn, might exhibit the very communal tendency of a minority community. We could not expect anything otherwise. Whatever protestations to the contrary may be made we can rest assured that in such a constituency the Christian candidate and voter will have little chance, for the simple reason that it will be impossible for him to become a Hindu communalist. Our position from time to time has been made perfectly clear. We do not ask for separation, but we do consider it necessary before we merge our identity into a larger group, that that group will be representative of all Indian communities.

We have in our midst very substantial groups of Indian Christians who have not yet been diverted from the lure of the pursuit of the separate electorates. These groups are vocal, and indeed sometimes, their importance has been exaggerated by the British press in this country. But yet most of us will admit that it was quite possible by agitation and suggestion to get large masses of Indian Christians to declare their allegiance to the principle of the separate electorate for the argument is based on what seems to be self-interest. But on the other hand an increasing number of Indian Christians recognize the impossibility of erecting a National State on the basis of the separate electorates, which in essence must result in weakening Indian unity generally.

Readers of European history will remember the great struggle which took place between the people on the one hand and the Crown on the other with regard to the composition at the time of

the French Revolution of the State's General Assembly. The Crown insisted that the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Third Estate should be members of separate chambers, which would vote and deliberate separately, thus nullifying the influence of a larger nationality. In other words it was open to each of these groups to hold up progress or to work for their own selfish ends. The third Estates fought the battle for unity for it realised that in this separatist arrangement, the Crown would play off one class group against the other.

When your Council received an invitation to be represented at the Unity Conference the invitation was accepted for it was clear to them that the only basis on which the communities could be brought together would be by acceptance of the joint electorate with reserved seats. Thus the two divergent points of view of the Separatist and the Unity Groups could be harmonised. Indeed, our presence at the Unity Conference was in direct line with the whole process of our development since 1922, when I had the honour of presiding over your deliberations at Lucknow. These succeeding ten years will have a significant place in the general history of our community. What then were the definite proposals that we put forward and the demands which we asked the other communities to recognize? In the first place we desired in some way to restore the balance which the Prime Minister's Award had overthrown or even overlooked. We asked that within joint electorates reservation should be made in the Madras Presidency of at least 12 seats for Indian Christians, as against 9 seats under the Prime Minister's Award. We also asked that a seat should be reserved in the Central Provinces for Indian Christians. In the Punjab we asked for and ultimately our claim for a third seat was recognized. The second set of objectives was to ensure that our community was safeguarded against the claims of other minorities which, if acceded to, would have meant that we would have been disqualified permanently in certain directions. The Sikhs of the Punjab have insisted that they should be adequately represented in the Central Legislature. The Moslems have already asked for 33⅓% of seats, and their claim for 32½ per cent was conceded by the Unity Conference on condition that they accepted joint electorates with reservation of seats. The Sikhs have demanded that in a house of 300, 4½ per cent of the seats should be reserved for them, but no provision had yet been made for Indian Christians. We have now asked for the reservation of 12 seats in the Central Legislature, and our claim has been recorded.

We have also felt that we must pursue our task still further. At the Unity Conference we stated that as the Sikhs in the Punjab had claimed that their community should be represented in the Cabinet, so in Madras a similar claim on behalf of Indian Christians was

recorded. In the Central Government we shall be compelled to follow the example of the Sikhs and the Moslems to demand representation in the Federal Cabinet. In making these demands, we realise fully that by pursuing these claims Unity will be difficult to achieve. Furthermore, the recognition of all these claims is bound to change the whole nature of our future Constitution. For example the country may be compelled, if the Minorities insist on their alleged rights, to change the Cabinet into an extra Parliamentary body, very generally responsible to the Legislature but not in detail. Further it would have to be appointed for a term of years, and could consult the communalised legislature only from time to time which would exercise some further control over the Budget and Legislation. You will then have a Cabinet not after the British System, but rather like the American executive, without the periodical appeal to the nation at large.

We would announce once again to our countrymen that in the event of the abandonment of these devices of protection by the majority community and the largest minority community, we are willing to take our place as citizens of the country. We are willing to work for a common Electoral Roll, open to all citizens, we are willing to abandon all these makings of separate communities, for places of power and prestige. Indeed it is our interest to do so, for our ambitions are greater than the narrow limits of our community. In the services for example, or in the Legislatures, we do not desire our community to be marked with these percentages. In a community such as ours, an open field is the best incentive, and in the long run will pay us best.

In our enumeration of the communities, we have omitted, so far, mention of the Anglo-Indian and the European communities of India. In one sense we are linked to them through the bonds of a common religion far more than to the other communities ; but our vital connections with them are so flimsy that they may be disregarded. The reasons are not far to seek, and they are inherent in the character of the British race. In the French and the Dutch colonies, the attachment of the European foreigners to the indigenous people who profess the Christian faith is far closer than in India. All Christians without distinction of race are usually amalgamated into a general group, and placed under the same civil and electoral laws. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India in matter of legislature representation have done extraordinarily well for themselves. We are surprised however that the pure communalists on our side have not made larger demands on behalf of the Indian Christian community. Rao Bahadur Pannirselvam gave away the Indian Christian case when he became a signatory to the Minorities Pact in London. He accepted the permanent inferiority of the Indian Christians to the small but claimant groups of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in this country.

173. S. RADHAKRISHNAN ON CHRISTIANITY (1933 A.D.)

In lectures given at the Mary Ward Settlement, London, on 18th March 1930, which were published in 1933, S. Radhakrishnan critically examines what he believes to have been the degradation of primitive Christianity under subsequent European influence. These lectures were incorporated in sections VI, VII and VIII of S. Radhakrishnan, *East and West in Religion*, pp. 57-65.

VI. *The Religion of Jesus and Western Christianity*

The difference between the Eastern and the Western approaches and attitudes to religion becomes evident when we compare the life of Jesus, and His teaching as recorded in the Gospels, with the Nicene Creed. It is the difference between a type of personality and a set of dogmas, between a way of life and a scheme of metaphysics. The characteristics of intuitive realization, non-dogmatic toleration, as well as insistence on the non-agressive virtues and universalist ethics, mark Jesus out as a typical Eastern seer. On the other hand, the emphasis on definite creeds and absolute dogmatism, with its consequences of intolerance, exclusiveness and confusion of piety with patriotism, are the striking features of Western Christianity.

Jesus' religion was one of love and sympathy, tolerance and inwardness. He founded no organization but enjoined only private prayer. He was utterly indifferent to labels and creeds. He made no distinction between Jew and Gentile, Roman and Greek. He did not profess to teach a new religion but only deepened spiritual life. He formulated no doctrine and did not sacrifice thinking to believing. He learned and taught in the synagogues of the Jews. He observed their ritual so long as it did not blind men to the inner light. He attached no importance to professions of allegiance. There is nothing in common between the simple truths taught by Jesus and the Church militant with its hierarchic constitution and external tests of membership, but the change was inevitable when Christianity went to Rome and took over the traditions of Caesar. When the Greek dialecticians and Roman lawyers succeeded to the Jewish divines and the prophets, Christian theology became logical in form and based on law. The spirit was the Jew's but the letter or the dogma was the Greek's, and the policy and the organization were the Roman's. Jesus reveals through His life and commands through His teaching the possibility of a life of a higher quality than that which is normal to man. He does not discuss intricacies of Theology and ritual, but proclaims love of God or insight into the nature of reality, and love of man or oneness with the purpose of the universe, as the central truths of religion. Transplanted into

the West, creeds and dogmas took the place of vision and prophecy, and intricate subtleties of scholasticism displaced the simple love of God. The question for the Church is not whether the ideas it represents are spiritually worthy, but what are the ways and means by which the society can be held together. Roman ideas and institutions influenced the ecclesiastical organization.

VII. *The Incarnation and the Trinity*

For Jesus piety is not a matter of knowledge, nor is ignorance the cause of impiety. His simple faith appealed to the uncultured peasants. Celsus sarcastically declared that the law of admission to the Christian community was : 'Let no educated man enter, no wise man, no prudent man, for such things we deem evil ; but whoever is ignorant, whoever is unintelligent, whoever is uneducated, whoever is simple, let him come and be welcome.' Tertullian asked, 'What resemblance is there between a philosopher and a Christian, between a disciple of Greece and a disciple of heaven ?' And yet this simple faith, which seems to be so radically opposed to the Greek temperament, when taken over by the Greeks is transformed into a theological scheme.

The Greeks and Romans were interested in God as a theoretical explanation of the universe. The relation of the infinite to the finite was the outstanding problem of Greek philosophy, and the solutions offered by Plato and Aristotle were ambiguous and unsatisfactory. The incarnation theory offered a way out. God is no longer separated by a meaningless distance from the human world, but has actually entered into humanity, thus making possible the ultimate unity of the human race with God. In Jesus we have the union of the divine and the human. The spaceless spirit has penetrated the world of sense. The Nicene Creed is an answer to a problem of Greek metaphysics and not of Jewish religion. Since its formulation there have been many doctrinal controversies.

We notice also the gradual transformation of a rigid monotheism into a trinitarian Godhead. The Greeks worshipped not merely Father Zeus but a whole society of gods and goddesses. In Greco-Latin paganism Zeus was conceived as Jupiter and as the head of all the gods and goddesses who shared his divinity. When pagan polytheism and Jewish monotheism became fused together, the Catholic God, a God who is a society, arose. The Roman emperors, keen on dissolving the distinction between the citizenship of the State and membership of the Church, took up the local deities and converted them into Christian saints.

The Roman Empire failed to destroy Christianity by persecution, but the hour of her victory over Rome signalized the defeat of the

Gospel of Jesus. Christianity became bound up with the civilization under which it grew. The Church became the depository of sacred wisdom, a sort of reservoir of theological secrets and not a spring.

Christianity is a syncretistic faith, a blend of various earlier creeds. The Jew, the Greek and the Roman as well as the races of the Mediterranean basin have contributed to it, with the result that, in spite of anxiety for system, this is lacking. Its ideas about God, to take one example, vary between a loving father, a severe judge, a detective officer, a hard schoolmaster and the head of the clerical profession.

VIII. *Hospitality of Early Christianity and its Absence in later Christianity*

When once religious faith becomes confused with dogmatic creeds, exclusiveness and intolerance become inevitable. Christianity in its early form was quite hospitable to Western thought and beliefs with which it came into contact. The Fourth Gospel adopted the doctrine of the Logos and took up the position that those who worshipped Christ were not setting up a new god. The Fourth Evangelist was not troubled by the fact that the Logos doctrine was Greek in origin and had heathen associations. No canons of orthodoxy bound him to a narrow Jewish faith. Justin Martyr could say : ' The teachings of Plato are not alien to those of Christ, though not in all respects similar. For all the writers were able to have a dim vision of realities by means of the indwelling seed of the implanted word.' And yet in the fourth century Christianity developed an attitude of intolerance. The great library at Alexandria founded by the first Ptolemy in the third century B.C. and lavishly endowed by his successors was finally destroyed under the orders of the Christian emperor Theodosius the Great in A.D. 289, because it was known to be a hotbed of paganism. A few centuries later, when Christianity came into contact with Islam, it did not adopt the liberal attitude of the earlier stage and try to find out the elements of truth in Islam, but fought it bitterly and bigotedly. Even if we admit that Islam is a militant organization, a fighting brotherhood in which a rigorous discipline is imposed on its followers by means of the scripture of the Quran and the organs of interpretation, we cannot deny that the conception of brotherhood in Islam transcends all barriers of race and nationality, a feature which does not characterize many other religions. To-day when Christianity is faced by the religion of India, it is adopting an attitude of unbending self-sufficiency. It has lost the features of teachability and tolerance which characterized it in its early days.

It has ceased to be a religion of growth and freedom and become one of regimentation. The Church is the bearer of the revelation and only the revelation, not the Church, is authoritative. The prophetic element is authoritative and not its formulations. The Church formulates dogma in terms of the current thought, but she cannot claim absolute intellectual finality for any dogma or formula. The thinking of the past in no way renders unnecessary the thinking of the present. The contrast between the free and simple religion of Jesus, and the dogmatic system of the Church, is brought out in the Chapter on ' The Grand Inquisitor ' in Dostoevsky's book *The Brothers Karamzov*. The Grand Inquisitor explains to Jesus that the Church has undone his work, corrected it and refounded it on the basis of authority. The souls of men were indeed like sheep and could not endure the terrible gift of freedom which Jesus brought. The Church has been merciful in keeping man from knowledge and free inquiry. It has made mental slaves of its members. Belief is heaven and heresy hell. Consider the repressive legislation of Theodosius, which by heavy penalties forbade the practice of any other religion than Christianity, the closing of the schools of philosophy at Athens by Justinian, the Albigensian Crusades, the Dominican Inquisitions, the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in Elizabethan England, the religious wars of the seventeenth century and the cruelties perpetrated upon the anabaptists. Pius IX declared, ' Let us most firmly hold that according to Catholic doctrine, there is one God, one faith, on baptism, and to go further (in an enquiry as to the fate of souls) were sin. ' Even those philosophers who profess to be devotees of truth are unable to shake themselves free from the absolutism characteristic of intellectual religions. While they admit that the Christian religion is not the only one, they believe that it is the absolute expression of absolute truth. In it we have the thrusting of the eternal into the temporal. As Hegel says : ' It is the Christian religion which is the perfect religion, the religion which represents the Being of Spirit in a realized form or for itself, the religion in which religion has itself become objective in relation to itself. ' But if we are true to the teaching of Jesus, we shall know that absolute truth goes beyond all forms and creeds, all historic revelations and institutions.

174. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MALANKARA ORTHODOX SYRIAN CHURCH OF INDIA (1934 A.D.)

Here certain clauses of the constitution adopted by the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church of India in 1934 are reproduced. These relate to certain features of its origins and present constitution, with special reference to its relationships with the Patriarch of Antioch. *The Constitution of the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church.*

Articles :

1. The Malankara Church is a division of the Orthodox Syrian Church. The Primate of the Orthodox Syrian Church is the Patriarch of Antioch.

2. The Malankara Church was founded by St. Thomas the Apostle and is included in the Orthodox Syrian Church of the East and the Primate of the Orthodox Syrian Church of the East is the Catholicose.

3. The ancient and real name of the Malankara Church is the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church although it is also wrongly called ' The Jacobite Church ', for the same reasons for which the Orthodox Syrian Church has been also called so.

94. The prime jurisdiction regarding the temporal, ecclesiastical and spiritual administration of the Malankara Church is vested in the Malankara Metropolitan subject to the provisions of this constitution.

99. The throne of the Catholicose was re-established in the Orthodox Syrian Church of the East which includes the Malankara Church, in A.D. 1912 and this institution has been functioning ever since in the Orthodox Syrian Church of the East.

100. The powers of the Catholicose include the consecration of Prelates, presiding over the Episcopal Synod, declaring its decisions and implementing them, conducting administration as representative of the Synod, and consecrating the Holy Mooron.

101. The Malankara Church will recognise the Patriarch, canonically consecrated with the co-operation of the Catholicose.

114. If any one shall be consecrated as Catholicose he shall be elected to that office by the Association. If such election is approved by the Episcopal Synod, the Synod shall consecrate that person as Catholicose. If there be a Patriarch recognised by the Malankara Church the Patriarch shall be invited when the Catholicose shall be consecrated and if the Patriarch arrives he shall as the President of the Synod consecrate the Catholicose with the co-operation of the Synod.

175. DIALOGUE BETWEEN MAHATMA GANDHI AND C. F. ANDREWS ON CONVERSION (1936 A.D.)

In this dialogue, an account of which was published in *Harijan* on 28th November 1936, Gandhi makes it quite clear to Andrews that he is opposed to sanctioning conversion from one religion to another, however sincerely an individual may desire to do so. Cited in A. T. Hingorani, ed., *The Messages of Jesus Christ*, pp. 89-92.

C. F. Andrews : What would you say to a man who, after considerable thought and prayer, said that he could not have his peace and salvation except by becoming a Christian ?

Gandhiji : I would say that, if a non-Christian (say a Hindu) came to a Christian and made that statement, he should ask him to become a good Hindu rather than find goodness in change of faith.

C. F. Andrews : I cannot in this go the whole length with you, though you know my own position. I discarded the position that there is no salvation except through Christ long ago. But supposing the Oxford Group Movement people changed the life of your son, and he felt like being converted, what would you say ?

Gandhiji : I would say that the Oxford Group may change the lives of as many as they like, but not their religion. They can draw their attention to the best in their respective religions, and change their lives according to them. There came to me a man, the son of Brahmin parents, who said his reading of your book had led him to embrace Christianity. I asked him if he thought that the religion of his forefathers was wrong. He said : 'No'. Then, I said : 'Is there any difficulty about your accepting the *Bible* as one of the great religious books of the world and Christ as one of the great teachers ?' I said to him that you had never through your books asked Indians to take up the Bible and embrace Christianity, and that he had misread your book—unless, of course, your position is like that of the late Maulana Mohammed Ali's, *viz.*, that a believing Mussalman, however bad his life, is better than a good Hindu.

C. F. Andrews : I do not accept M. Mohammed Ali's position at all. But I do say that, if a person really needs a change in faith, I should not stand in his way.

Gandhiji : But don't you see that you do not even give him a chance ? You do not even cross-examine him. Supposing, a Christian came to me and said he was captivated by reading of

the *Bhagavat* and so wanted to declare himself a Hindu, I should say to him : ' No. What the Bhagavat offers, the *Bible* also offers. You have not yet made the attempt to find it out. Make the attempt and be a good Christian.'

C. F. Andrews : I don't know. If someone earnestly says that he will become a good Christian, I should say : ' You may become one ', though you know that I have in my own life strongly dissuaded ardent enthusiasts who came to me. I said to them : ' Certainly, not on my account will you do anything of the kind. But human nature does require a concrete faith. '

Gandhiji : If a person wants to believe in the *Bible*, let him say so, but why should he disregard his own religion ? This proselytization will mean no peace in the world. Religion is a very personal matter. We should, by living the life according to our lights, share the best with one another, thus adding to the sum total of human effort to reach God.

Consider, whether you are going to accept the position of mutual toleration or of equality of all religions. My position is that all the great religions are fundamentally equal. We must have the innate respect for other religions as we have for our own. Mind you, not mutual toleration, but equal respect.

176. BISHOP AZARIAH ON THE INDIAN CHURCH (1936 A.D.)

Writing in 1936, Bishop V. S. Azariah, reflects upon the development and current condition of the Indian Church. In the passages chosen here he reflects upon the divided character of that Church, and of the need for the missions to turn over more responsibility to Indian Christians. The matter is seen as especially urgent in light of the national movement. V. S. Azariah, *India and the Christian Movement*, pp. 81-82, 87-89.

But, alas, what we call the Indian Church is not one organic entity. The divisions of Christendom make it impossible for the indigenous Christians to belong to a visible ' One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church ', and in consequence they belong to as many Churches and sects as there are Churches and sects that send out missionaries from the West. What we term the Indian Church is the theoretical aggregate of the indigenous Christians in all the Churches — having different ecclesiastical loyalties, following various forms of Church government and worshipping in many differing ways in numerous churches and chapels throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent. There are few things

that may be said to be common to them all : they are all nominally Indian Christians, and enumerated as such for all civil purposes ; they are connected with one or other of these numerous Christian Churches in the land ; and at least in theory are all responsible for bringing India to the feet of Christ.

Strictly speaking, therefore there is no Indian Church in the singular ; there are, in the plural. Churches, denominations or sects are numerous and their number cannot be accurately estimated. If therefore sometimes we use the term Indian Church we only speak thus of the groups of Christians gathered into the Church of Christ and grouped under these many separate units . . .

The Indigenous Leadership

The National Missionary Council, at its very first session in 1912, emphasised the necessity for the development of Indian Leadership. One of its Resolutions recorded the conviction ' that whenever capable and spiritually minded men and women are discovered, Churches and Missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans and thus open for them the highest and most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity.'

In this connection the Conference also emphasised the principle that the work carried on by Foreign Missionary Societies should be gradually transferred, as opportunities offered, to the Indian Church, and that suitable plans and modifications of existing organizations should be adopted, wherever necessary, so that this principle might be carried out by missionary bodies.

The last twenty years have seen an enormous development in such indigenization as is contemplated in the above Resolution. In many areas, charges of mission districts once held by missionaries have now been handed over to suitable Indians. Educational Institutions once under the managership of Europeans are now under the managership of Indian Christians. Indian Christian doctors have now been placed in charge of hospitals formerly under European doctors. In some areas, the Superintending Missionary no longer exists, his huge districts have been subdivided and placed under Indian ministers. Where Indians have been entrusted with such responsibilities, they are to a great extent proving themselves able, efficient and trustworthy. In handling mission funds and accounts, in keeping the work at an efficient standard and in the exercise of discipline over subordinates, many Indian Christians have proved themselves worthy of the trust placed in their hands.

We need on the one hand far more Indian leaders of this type than are available at present ; and on the other, we desire to see a still bolder policy in all Missionary Churches, trusting Indians more and more with responsibilities. The carrying of responsibilities trains character, develops leadership and drives men to seek divine help to enable them to discharge their duties to the glory of God and for the advancement of the Church in this land. We would urge on Missions and Churches the great need for even greater development along this line in the future. At a time when the spirit of nationalism sweeps over the land, and everything un-Indian is looked upon with suspicion, it is a moral and spiritual obligation upon all missionaries and missionary societies from abroad and upon all Churches in India to seek to do everything they possibly can, to make it possible, both in appearance and in reality, to identify the Christian movement with the indigenous Church and indigenous leadership.

177. IDEALS OF THE CHRISTA SISHYA ASHRAM, COIMBATORE (1936 A.D.)

With the assistance of the Anglican bishop Pakenham Walsh, the Christa Sishya Ashram was established by the Orthodox Syrian Church at Thadagam near Coimbatore in 1936. The description of the ideals of the ashram found here come from a later time. From the Souvenir published by the Ashram, *Bishop Walsh Birth Centenary Celebrations*, pp. 9 ff.

The founder-members had as their ideal a community of clergy and laity, married and unmarried, living under strict regulations. It was hoped that the members would be chiefly family units.

As a religious community we take the three vows of Poverty, Obedience and Devotion to the Kingdom of God. By the third vow we understand that every private and personal interest will be subordinated to that of preparing the way for the Kingdom of God on earth as it is in heaven.

As disciples of Lord Jesus, our ever-living and ever-present Guru, we desire to live a common life together in which we will endeavour to follow Him in worship and prayer, in faith and in love, in child-like obedience to the Heavenly Father, and in renunciation of and sacrifice for the service and uplift of all those for whom He gave His life and with the special object of making Him known to those who know Him not.

This we desire to do by proclaiming by life and word the principles of the Kingdom, as taught by Him and by leading both

Christians and non-Christians to co-operate in applying those principles, so as to promote the well-being of the people around us and of the world in which we live.

Married people who join the Sangha are called to make a sacrifice in some respects more closely than that made by the unmarried members, for they offer not only themselves but their families, they resign some of the independence of ordinary home life and they make a great act of faith in God as regards the future of their children.

A Community in which the family shall have its due place is almost a new experiment in the Christian world, but it was an encouragement to those who had conceived this plan, to find out later that the devout and far-sighted Bishop of Durham, Brooke Foss Westcott, had the same vision and had considered it as the great experiment of the Christian Church, which in response to the needs of different ages had tried hermits, monks, nuns, mendicants, but had not yet tried families living in disciplined community life. He thought that such families living the religious life together in voluntary poverty and brotherly co-operation would set an example which could be imitated, in which the ordinary temptations of social life would seem to be met and overcome...

Holiness of Life :

Knowing that we must preach the Gospel even more by our lives than by our lips we desire to use every means to become holy, to bring up the children of the Ashram in the obedience and love of God, and to influence all who from time to time live with us to offer themselves as living sacrifices to God.

To this end we desire to secure and to guard by rule and custom sufficient time for prayer and meditation and the study of God's Holy word and of other religious books as well as for corporate worship including the frequent drawing near to God in the Holy Qurbana and for occasional retreats. We also desire to observe such rules of holy living as our Church enjoin upon us.

And knowing the grievous harm which dissensions among brethren cause to the common life, we desire to be full of forbearance and forgiveness, to be frank with each other in love, to confess our faults freely when we have offended any and to foster the same spirit in all the families and residents in the Ashram.

We recognise that the three graces specially needed for such a Sangha as ours are humility, love and joy. We shall therefore strive to have the mind of the Master in these things ; we shall be

glad to take the lowest place and to obey the rules of the Sangha, and the orders of the Acharya or of others set over us. We shall endeavour to love with the love of Christ Jesus, all united with us in the Sangha and with whom we come in contact, even those who wound and injure us; we shall endeavour to keep the joy of our Lord in our hearts, rejoicing in all God's creation around us, and in all that we see of His beauty in the people whom we have to serve.

We shall in these ways by God's grace make our Ashram a home of true religion, where love, peace and joy are felt as an all-pervading atmosphere by those who enter it.

Simplicity of Living :

Having in remembrance the example of our Master, who, though He was rich, for our sakes became poor and of those saints of every age who for His sake renounced all they had, we will aim at such a standard of simple living as we hope will be within the reach of all the people of our neighbourhood as they learn to practise the principles of the Kingdom of God, given us by our Lord Jesus Christ. In all matters of possessions, ornaments and dress, we will endeavour to be so simple as not to cause feelings of envy in the minds of the poor...

The following extracts from the Articles of Association of the Ashram given below will give some idea of the working of the Ashram.

Membership :

Membership is open to clergy and laity, married or unmarried, belonging to the Orthodox Syrian Church. Great care shall be taken that all who join the Sangha are suitable in body, mind and spirit for that life and work and understand what membership involves. As wives are also expected to be members of the Sangha equal care should be taken to see that they are fit persons to join the Sangha. Normally those wishing to join will come on a long visit not less than six months and after a probation period of one year they can become members of the Sangha for one year with the approval of the Sangha. After the first year's membership, members may with the approval of the Sangha renew their vows for a period of three years. At the end of this period the Sangha can accept him or her as a permanent member if he or she so desires. Such a member can then or at a later time become a voting member of the Sangha if the Sangha approves...

178. MAHATMA GANDHI ON CHRISTIANITY (1937 A.D.)

In this account, Gandhi describes his own contacts with Christians and certain conclusions that he has reached concerning the claims made for Christianity and other religions. In doing so he reveals his own standards of religious judgement. From the *Harijan*, 6th March 1937, cited in A. T. Hingorani, ed., *The Message of Jesus Christ*, pp. 97-100.

Even when I was 18, I came in touch with good Christians in London. Before that I had come in touch with what I used then to call ' beef and beerbottle Christianity,' for these were regarded as the indispensable criteria of a man becoming a Christian, with also a third thing, namely adoption of a European style of dress. Those Christians were parodying St. Paul's teaching—' Call thou nothing unclean.' I went to London, therefore, with that prejudice against Christianity. I came across good Christians there who placed the *Bible* in my hands. Then, I met numerous Christians in South Africa, and I have since grown to this belief that Christanity is as good and as true a religion as my own. For a time, I struggled with the question : ' Which was the true religion out of those I knew ? ' But, ultimately, I came to the deliberate conviction that there was no such thing as only one true religion and every other false. There is no religion that is absolutely perfect. All are equally imperfect or, more or less, perfect. Hence, the conclusion that Christianity is as good and as true as my own religion. But so also about Islam or Zoroastrianism or Judaism.

Jesus is as Divine as Other Prophets

I, therefore, do not take as literally true the text that Jesus is the only begotten son of God. God cannot be the exclusive Father and I cannot ascribe exclusive divinity to Jesus. He is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Mohammed or Zoroaster. Similarly, I do not regard every word of the Bible as the inspired word of God, even as I do not regard every word of the Vedas or the Quran as inspired. The sum total of each of these books is certainly inspired, but I miss that inspiration in many of the things taken individually. The Bible is as much a book of religion with me as the Gita and the Quran.

I would also dispute the claim that Christianity is the only true religion. It is also a true religion, a noble religion and, along with other religions, it has contributed to raise the moral height of mankind. But it has yet to make a greater contribution. After all, what are 2,000 years in the life of a religion ? Just now, Christianity comes to yearning mankind in a tainted form. Fancy, Bishops supporting slaughter in the name of Christianity ?

Fundamental Maxims

Q. But, when you say that all religions are true, what do you do when there are conflicting counsels ?

A. I have no difficulty in hitting upon the truth, because I go by certain fundamental maxims. Truth is superior to everything, and I reject what conflicts with it. Similarly, that which is in conflict with non-violence should be rejected. And, on matters which can be reasoned out, that which conflicts with reason must also be rejected.

Q. In matters which cannot be reasoned out ?

A. Yes, there are subjects where reason cannot take us far and we have to accept things on faith. Faith then does not contradict reason but transcends it. Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the purview of reason. Well then, given these three criteria, I can have no difficulty in examining all claims made on behalf of religion. Thus, to believe that Jesus is the only begotten son of God is to me against reason, for God can't marry and beget children. The word ' son ' there can only be used in a figurative sense. In that sense, everyone who stands in the position of Jesus is a begotten son of God. If a man is spiritually miles ahead of us, we may say that he is, in a special sense, the son of God, though we are all children of God. We repudiate the relationship in our lives, whereas his life is a witness to that relationship.

No Degrees of Divinity

Q. Then, you will recognize degrees of divinity. Would you not say that Jesus was the most divine ?

A. No, for the simple reason that we have no data. Historically, we have more data about Mohammed than anyone else because he was more recent in time. For Jesus, there is less data and still less for Buddha, Rama and Krishna ; and when we know so little about them, is it not preposterous to say that one of them was more divine than another ? In fact, even if there were a great deal of data available, no judge should shoulder the burden of sifting all the evidence, if only for this reason that it requires a highly spiritual person to gauge the degree of divinity of the subjects he examines. To say that Jesus was 99 per cent divine, and Mohammed 50 per cent and Krishna 10 per cent, is to arrogate to oneself a function which really does not belong to man.

179. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE PUNJAB CHRISTIANS (1938 A.D.)

The empirical study of the Christian community in India is a recent phenomenon. One of the pioneer examples of the use of the tools of the social sciences to understand Christianity in India was the study of village Christians in the Punjab made by E. D. Lucas and F. Thakur Das in the late 1930s. This passage is taken from their book, published in 1938, *The Rural Church in Punjab*, pp. iii-v.

Social Conditions :—Village Christians are an oppressed people who receive scant respect—often the reverse—at the hands of the non-Christian groups. Notwithstanding the fact that Muslims are in the majority in most of the villages studied, yet strong caste prejudices still prevail. A weakening of caste barriers and more social fluidity can be observed amongst the upper classes, yet these so-called higher castes still look with repugnance upon the menial classes, especially those whose occupation is in any sense defiling, i.e., that of the *chamarangs* (tanners) and the *chuhras* (scavengers) who are now mostly employed as agricultural labourers. There is, however, this significant difference that the stigma of his caste does not attach so much as formerly to the individual who has entered some non-hereditary occupation. The higher social groups have an inherited pride which blocks more liberal respect being shown by them to the menial groups but the tendency now is to attach the stigma to the occupation alone and not to the people employed in it. However group habits and attitudes are modified very slowly and gradually. The mass conversion to Christianity of the *chuhra* group has to some extent modified the social stigma resting upon them especially where they are known to have given up the eating of carrion and left-over food as the result of increasing self-respect and cleanliness under the inspiration of their new faith. The social disabilities which still persist and stigmatize them as an inferior people will probably persist so long as they remain mere agricultural labourers, for the most part paid a pitiful wage in kind. The most effective agency in breaking down this social barrier aside from that mentioned above is the spread of the educational system, mostly rural primary schools. Missionary activity has inspired other religious groups to the work of social uplift—and Mr. Gandhi's influence and that of his followers have contributed to the same end.

If the Christian groups could be trained in more skilled trades and escape, at least a portion of them, from their present serfdom it would contribute to their better social standing. And yet should they give up the flaying of dead cattle for instance—at present one

of their prerogatives—they would lose a valuable source of income as each hide removed brings in from one to two rupees. Here is where economic income and social standing are in direct conflict.

Economic Conditions :—About 85 per cent of the Christian communities in these areas work either as agricultural labourers paid largely in kind or as tenant cultivators on a yearly contract. In either case their position is very insecure and they are completely at the mercy of the land owning classes. The average income of the landless labourers, who constitute over two-thirds of the entire community, is about Rs. 125 per family per annum. The size of the average family is between 5 and 6 members including children. The tenant cultivators constitute another 15 per cent of the community and their average net income per family per annum runs to a little over Rs. 150 in the Pasrur area and about Rs. 86 in the Narowal area depending on the size of the tenancy. The other occupations open to this community in the villages are gut-making, trading in hides and skins, brick-moulding, casual labour and tanning. A few of the more highly educated have broken into other occupations such as cobbling, pottery-making and are occupied as school teachers or preachers under the Church or Mission. A few have left the villages and are found in cities and cantonments as gardeners, cooks, grooms, chauffeurs, mechanics, workmen in factories and Railway Workshops, etc. Before the depression these urban immigrants were accustomed to send remittance to their families in the villages but owing to the lack of employment and the low wages at present existing, these remittances have nearly ceased.

The Christian communities in these areas nowhere constitute over 15 per cent of the village population and the average is about 7 percent. They are not allowed to own land, not even the land on which their houses stand. Not only in economic but in social, cultural and religious matters they are almost certain to be dominated by the land owning groups.

There is wide-spread purchase and sale of brides. This practice is common throughout this area, and in fact, is wide-spread throughout the Punjab. Such a custom degrades the position of women, is one of the main causes of debt and prevents the building up of anything resembling Christian family life. To eradicate this evil must be one of the immediate objectives of the Church in the near future. One of the main reasons leading to the purchase and sale of brides is the disparity in the numbers of males and females. There are roughly 8 women to 10 men in the Christian village communities.

At least 82 per cent of the Christian community is in debt. The debt equals the entire family income of nineteen months. The rates

of interest average about 25 per cent per annum and the interest rate on loans connected with marriages are considerably higher. The psychology of the debtor is interesting, the most common attitude being a certain pride in a fairly substantial debt as showing the standing and credit of the debtor. The co-operative movement so far has failed to inculcate thrift, saving and avoidance of wasteful expenditure. It is necessary that the educational process should pay more attention to this aspect of the community life.

Village primary day schools of four classes, and boarding schools of eight classes or even high schools have been established very widely in this area as in other areas. There is no restriction on Christian children entering schools controlled or taught by non-Christians. But as a matter of fact, most Christian children and parents prefer the Christian schools as is evidenced by the very much higher percentage of children of school-going age attending the village school under a Christian agency than that under any non-Christian agency.

The education of girls has made considerable headway and a very hopeful start has been made both in co-education and in the introduction of trained women teachers into village schools. The greatest need of the future is a re-orientation of the educational process whereby from the very beginning the teacher and the teaching will be intimately related with the everyday life of the community. The key to this re-orientation lies in the training of the future generation of teachers. A very hopeful start has been made along this line at Moga and a few other places.

Two or three great difficulties face the Church in attaining a satisfactory standard of self support.

These difficulties may be enumerated as follows :—

(*a*) Widespread dispersion of Christians in small groups throughout the villages. Each pastorate must include anywhere from 7 to 15 villages in order to enable their joint contribution to support the pastor.

(*b*) The difficulty in training lay-leadership and preparing them to share in the general Christian discipline and the raising of funds for the pastorate, and

(*c*) The training of pastors to be real leaders of their people with regard to every aspect of life.

The present average family contribution in this area runs between Rs. 1 and 2. This is also roughly between 1 and 2 per cent of the family income. The main difficulty in increasing this amount is the little surplus left after the most essential family needs have been met.

180. RAJA SIR MAHARAJ SINGH'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS (1943 A.D.)

In his address to the A.I.C.I.C. conference of 1943, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the first Governor of Bombay following Independence, affirms the commitment of the Indian Christian community to the nationalist cause and pleads for fair treatment from the majority communities. Cited in *Indian Witness*, Vol. 73, No. 12, March 25, 1943, p. 91.

We are behind no other community in our burning desire for a self-governing India in the immediate future. We are nationalists as much as any one else. We have no sympathy with the existing ideology of Empire or its attendent evil, namely, the colour bar. While we are Christians and proud to be such so far as our faith is concerned, in all other matters we are Indians first and Indians last. There is no antithesis between religion and patriotism, for a true Christian must be a good patriot. Indian Christians are ready to place their country above communal considerations. In more than one public statement they have offered to part with separate electorates and to ask for no special privileges. Their aim is to live in peace with both their Hindu and Muslim fellow citizens. Indian Christians wish to take their full share in the political and civic life of the country. Many including myself are members of the All-India Liberal Federation, a political body which welcomes adherents from every community and creed. The Congress is also composed of persons of different faiths and has Indian Christian members. So have the non-party political conferences. We should not forgo any opportunity of serving our country and through our country our community in being active members of legislatures or in joining political associations, attending political meetings and, above all, as a bridge community doing our utmost to narrow the gulf specially in times of communal tension between the two principal communities of India. At the same time we earnestly request our Hindu and Muslim compatriots to treat us and specially our poorer brethren with justice and even generosity. That surely should be the attitude of the strong towards the weak. All of us here have intimate friends in other communities and we appreciate these pleasant relations. As a notable instance of good will I may cite the case recently reported to me of a donation of Rs. 10,000 made by a Hindu gentleman of Allahabad for scholarships to Indian Christian students. If posts under Government or local bodies are obtainable only on the grounds of merits we can have no objection but where, as so often happens, appointments are at least in part made on communal considerations, Indian Christians feel that as the largest group

among the small minorities their claims in the past for a fair share of appointments have not met with adequate consideration. In particular there are far too few members of our community in the service of municipal and district Boards. And there is a strong feeling among us that the Executive Council of the Governor-General, which at present is a composite body representing different creeds, groups and interests, should contain an Indian Christian representative. We appeal to our non-Christian brethren as well as to Government to set right this crying wrong.

181. RESOLUTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS (1943 A.D.)

During its meetings of 1943, the All-India Conference of Indian Christians gave attention to the political situation of that time and adopted the following resolutions. These concern the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, the demand for assurance of independence following the end of the war, and the demand that Christians be given due share in appointments made on a communal basis, though they would prefere that appointments should not be made on that basis. Cited in *The Indian Witness*, Vol. 73, No. 12, March 25, 1943, pp. 92-93.

1. This Conference congratulates Mahatma Gandhi at the successful termination of his fast.

2. In the hope and belief that Mahatma Gandhi will condemn violence and will assist in a solution of the present political *impasse*, this Conference is of opinion that the Government should release him unconditionally without further delay.

3. This Conference deplores and condemns the acts of violence which have been committed since last August in India. At the same time it condemns the excesses committed in repressing the violence.

4. This Conference is of the opinion that a Round Table Conference should be convened immediately in India to reach an agreed solution of important constitutional problems ; it should include representatives of all important minorities and interests.

5. This Conference calls upon the British Government to make a clear declaration, as soon as possible, that India should attain full freedom within two years after cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile it earnestly appeals to the leaders of the principal political parties and communities in India to come to an agreed solution on the communal problem. If such a solution is not reached, the question should be referred for decision to an international Tribunal.

6. This Conference is and has been in favour of all appointments being made on merit and merit alone. So long, however, as communal considerations are taken into account in appointments made by Government, the Railway and the Local Bodies, this Conference demands that Indian Christians should have their due share in all such appointments.

7. This Conference reaffirms its adherence to the cause of the allied nations against the axis powers. In order, however, to enlist the full co-operation of the people of India in the War efforts, it demands the immediate formation of composite Governments in the centre, and in the provinces consisting of non-officials only, with the sole exception of the Commander-in-Chief. Such composite Governments should include a representative Indian Christian. The non-inclusion in the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in particular, of a representative of a community which is the second largest religious minority in India is regarded with deep concern by Indian Christians.

8. This Conference gives its unqualified support to the ideal of a free and independent India in a world brotherhood of nations and considers that after the war all Empire ideologies should be eliminated as a menace to the future peace of the world.

9. This Conference congratulates the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, and the members of the Standing Committee of the non-parties Conference in the effort made by them to find a way out of the present *impasse*, and requests them to continue their efforts.

10. This Conference records its deep sense of loss at the untimely demise of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Mahadeo Desai, the influence of both of whom will be missed in their respective spheres in the service of India.

182. ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE : PROPOSED BASIS OF NEGOTIATION FOR THE CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA (1947 A.D.)

The first Round Table Conference on church union in North India had taken place at Lucknow in 1929. Discussions had not gone smoothly. In 1947 a Round Table Conference held at Allahabad revived the movement. Portions of the Basis of Negotiation adopted at that meeting are reproduced here. Cited in G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity, Third Series*, 1930-48, pp. 212-222.

Doctrines :

(i) The Uniting Churches in North India hold the faith which the Church has ever held in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World, in whom men are saved by grace through faith, and in accordance with the revelation of God which He made, being Himself God incarnate, they worship one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

(ii) They accept the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament and New Testament as containing all things necessary to salvation and as the ultimate standard of faith.

(iii) They acknowledge the Apostles' Creed and the Creed commonly called the Nicene Creed as witnessing to and guarding that faith, which is continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ.

Sacraments :

(i) The Uniting Churches believe that the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion are means of grace through which God works in us...

Membership :

(i) At the time of union all full communicant members, members on probation or under instruction, members under discipline, catechumens and other persons in connexion with the Uniting Churches shall be accepted by the United Church with the corresponding status.

(ii) The full privileges and obligations of membership in the united Church should belong to those persons who, having attained years of discretion, having gained some measure of experience in the Christian life, and having received due instruction in Christian truth and in the duties of their

Christian calling, make public profession of their faith and of their purpose, with God's. help, to serve and follow Christ as members of His Church. They shall make this confession at a public service, which should include prayer for them that they may be strengthened by the Holy Spirit and may receive his manifold gifts of grace for their life and work.

(iii) Those only shall be members of the united Church who have by baptism been admitted to Christ's Church visible on earth. Baptism may be administered in infancy or upon profession of faith . . .

The Episcopate :

The Uniting Churches accept the Presbyteral, Congregational, and Episcopal elements in Church order as necessary parts of the basis of union. They agree that the Episcopate shall be both constitutional and historic, though this agreement is not to be taken as committing them to any particular interpretation.

The meaning in which the Uniting Churches thus accept the historic and constitutional Episcopacy is that in the united Church :

(i) The Bishops shall perform their functions in accordance with the customs of the Church, those customs being named and defined in the written constitution of the United Church. They shall include those of pastoral oversight, of teaching, of the supervision of public worship, of ordination of ministers to officiate and preach, and of the oversight of the Church. A Bishop will, if required, assist other Bishops in the consecration of persons duly elected or appointed to be Bishops.

(ii) The Bishop shall be elected, both the diocese concerned in each particular case and the authorities of the United Church as a whole having an effective voice in their appointment.

(iii) Continuity with the historic Episcopate shall both initially and thereafter be effectively maintained, it being understood that, as stated above, no particular interpretation of the historic Episcopate, as that is accepted in the united Church, is thereby implied, or shall be demanded from any minister or member thereof.

(iv) Every ordination of presbyters shall be performed by the laying on of hands of the Bishop and Presbyters, and all consecrations of Bishops shall be performed by the laying on of hands in which at least three Bishops shall participate.

The United Churches declare that in making this provision, it is their intention and determination in this manner to secure the unification of ministry, but that the acceptance of this provision does not involve any judgement upon the validity or regularity of any other form of the ministry, and the fact that other Churches do not follow the rule of episcopal ordination shall not in itself preclude the united Church from holding relations of communion and fellowship with them.

(v) The Bishops of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon in the area of union, and the Bishops of the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, together with the new Bishops to be consecrated at the time of union, shall be the first Bishops of the united Church, provided that they accept the Constitution of the united Church. It is, however, recognised that in our divided state the Bishops of the Episcopal Churches which are seeking union through the Round Table Conference do not now possess authority outside their own Churches. In order that the Episcopate of the United Church may be both constitutional and historic, and that the authority of these Bishops may be recognised and exercised throughout the united Church, it is necessary that they should receive authority from those Uniting Churches in which they do not now possess it. Therefore at the time of the inauguration of union there shall be a service at which this wider authority will be conferred upon them, and the new Bishops be consecrated. Bishops and presbyters of all Uniting Churches shall participate in this service...

183. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (1947 A.D.)

After lengthy negotiations that began in the 1920s, the Church of South India was formed in 1947. It brought together churches of the Anglican, English Methodist, American Reformed (Presbyterian), British and American Congregational, and Basel (Lutheran/Reformed) traditions. The decision to unite was made by the autonomous Indian churches that had been historically related to these traditions through mission societies. The portions of the C.S.I. Constitution that are reproduced here incorporate later amendments, as found in the 1972 edition, *The Constitution of the Church of South India.*

Chapter I

The Name of the Church and the Bodies which have constituted it :

1. The name of the Church is ' The Church of South India'.

2. The Church of South India is the Church constituted by union in 1947 of the Madras, Madura, Malabar, Jaffna, Kannada, Telugu and Travancore Church Councils of the South India United Church ; the South India Province of the Methodist Church, comprising the Madras, Trichinopoly, Hyderabad and Mysore Districts ; and the dioceses of Madras, Dornakal, Tinnevelly, and Travancore and Cochin in the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon to which in 1950 was added the North Tamil Church Council of the South India United Church.

Chapter II

2. **The Purpose and Nature of the Union.**—The Church of South India affirms that the purpose of the union by which it has been formed is the carrying out of God's will, as this is expressed in our Lord's prayer—' That they may all be one . . . that the world may believe that Thou didst send me'. It believes that by this union the Church in South India will become a more effective instrument for God's work, and that there will be greater peace, closer fellowship and fuller life within the Church, and also renewed eagerness and power for the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ. It hopes that it may be a true leaven of unity in the life of India, and that through it there may be a greater release of divine power for the fulfilment of God's purpose for His world.

The Church of South India believes that the unity of His Church for which Christ prayed is a unity in Him and in the Father through the Holy Spirit, and is therefore fundamentally a reality of the spiritual realm. It seeks the unity of the Spirit in the Bond of peace. But this unity of the Spirit must find expression in the faith and order of the Church, in its worship, in its organization and in its whole life, so that, as the Body of Christ, it may be a fit instrument for carrying out His gracious purposes in the world.

Again, for the perfecting of the life of the whole body, the Church of South India needs the heritage of each of the uniting Churches, and each of those Churches will, it is hoped, not lose the continuity of its own life, but preserve that life enriched by the union with itself of the other two Churches. The Church of South India is thus formed by a combination of different elements each bringing its contribution to the whole, and not by the absorption of any one by any other. It is, therefore, also a comprehensive Church ; and its members, firmly holding the fundamentals of the faith and order of the Church Universal, are allowed wide freedom of opinion in all other matters, and wide freedom of action in such differences of practice as are consistent with the general framework of the Church as one organized body.

The Church of South India acknowledges that, in every effort to bring together divided members of Christ's Body into one organization, the final aim must be the union in the Universal Church of all who acknowledge the name of Christ, and that the test of all local schemes of union is that they should express locally the principle of the great catholic unity of the Body of Christ. The Church of South India desires, therefore, conserving all that is of spiritual value in its Indian heritage, to express under Indian conditions and in Indian forms the spirit, the thought and the life of the Church Universal.

The Church of South India desires to regulate all its actions by the principle that it should maintain fellowship with all those branches of the Church of Christ with which the Churches from which it has been formed have severally enjoyed such fellowship, and that it should continually seek to widen and strengthen this fellowship and to work towards the goal of the full union in one body of all parts of the Church of Christ.

It prays that it may never so use the provisions of this Constitution under which it begins its life that they will become barriers against the fuller truth and richer life to be attained in a wider fellowship, but that it may always be ready to correct and amend them as God's will becomes more clearly known through the growing together of the several parts of the now divided Church into a common mind and spirit under the guidance of the one Holy Spirit. . .

5. **The Faith of the Church.**—The Church of South India accepts The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation and as the supreme and decisive standard of faith ; and acknowledges that the Church must always be ready to correct and reform itself in accordance with the teaching of those Scriptures as the Holy Spirit shall reveal it.

It also accepts the Apostle's Creed and the Creed commonly called the Nicene, as witnessing to and safeguarding that faith ; and it thankfully acknowledges that same faith to be continuously confirmed by the Holy Spirit in the experience of the Church of Christ.

Thus it believes in God, the Father, the Creator of all things, by whose love we are preserved ;

It believes in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God and Redeemer of the world, in whom alone we are saved by grace, being justified from our sins by faith in Him ;

It believes in the Holy Spirit, by whom we are sanctified and built up in Christ and in the fellowship of His Body ;

And in this faith it worships the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity.

The Church of South India is competent to issue supplementary statements concerning the faith for the guidance of its teachers and the edification of the faithful, provided that such statements are not contrary to the truths of our religion revealed in the Holy Scriptures. . .

8. **Necessary Elements in the Life of the Church of South India.**— The Church of South India recognizes that episcopal, presbyteral, and congregational elements must all have their place in its order of life, and that the episcopate, the presbyterate, and the congregation of the faithful should all in their several spheres have responsibility and exercise authority in the life and work of the Church, in its governance and administration, in its evangelistic and pastoral work, in its discipline, and in its worship.

184. THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA : BASIS OF UNION (1947 A.D.)

When the Constitution of the Church of South India was drawn up it was decided to include, as Appendix I, the 'Basis of Union' which had been drawn up earlier by the negotiating churches. This was done for the historical record and to fulfil the desire of the Constitution that 'full regard shall be paid to the Basis of Union as a permanent record of the intensions and desires of the Churches by the Union of which the Church has been formed'. Portions of the Basis are reproduced here. *The Constitution of the Church of South India*, 1972 edition, Appendix I, pp. 87-101.

THE PURPOSE AND NATURE OF THE UNION

1. The uniting Churches affirm that the purpose of the union into which they hope to enter is the carrying out of God's will as this is expressed in our Lord's prayer—'That they may all be one... that the world may believe that Thou didst send me'. They believe that by this union the Church in South India will become a more effective instrument for God's work, and that the result of union will be greater peace, closer fellowship, and fuller life within the Church, and also renewed eagerness and power for the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ. It is their hope that the Church thus

united may be a true leaven of unity in the life of India, and that through it there may be a greater release of divine power for the fulfilment of God's purpose for His world.

The uniting Churches believe that the unity of His Church for which Christ prayed is a unity in Him and in the Father through the Holy Spirit, and is therefore fundamentally a reality of the spiritual realm. They seek the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. But this unity of the Spirit must find expression in the faith and order of the Church, in its worship, in its organization and in its whole life, so that as the Body of Christ, it may be a fit instrument for carrying out His gracious purposes in the world.

It is the will of Christ that His Church should be one, and the manifold gifts of His grace were promised to the Church which is His Body. It is also His will that there should be a ministry accepted and fully effective throughout the world-wide Church. In the present divided state of Christendom there is no ministry which in this respect fully corresponds with the purpose of God, and the ministry can recover fullness only by the union of all the parts of the one Body. The uniting Churches recognize, however, that God has bestowed His grace with undistinguishing regard through all their ministers, in His use of them for His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners and perfecting saints. They acknowledge each other's ministries to be real ministries of the Word and Sacraments, and thankfully recognize the spiritual efficacy of sacraments and other ministrations which God has so clearly blessed. They confidently expect that these ministries hitherto separate will, when united, be used for a yet fuller manifestation of God's power and glory. Each Church in separation, has borne special witness to certain elements of the truth ; therefore for the perfecting of the whole body the heritage of each is needed. Each, maintaining the continuity of its own life, will be enriched by the gifts and graces of the others.

Wherever union takes place, it comes into being only by the working of the spirit of Christ, Who is both truth and love. In His spirit of love, all the ministers of the uniting Churches will from the inauguration of the union be recognized as equally ministers of the united Church without distinction or difference. The united Church will be formed by a combination of different elements, each bringing its contribution to the whole, and not by the absorption of any one by any other. It will, therefore, also be a comprehensive Church ; and its members, firmly holding the fundamentals of the faith and order of the Church Universal, will be allowed wide freedom of action in such differences of practice as are consistent with the general framework of the Church as one organized body.

The uniting Churches are agreed that, in every effort to bring together divided members of Christ's body into one organization, the final aim must be the union in the Universal Church of all who acknowledge the name of Christ, and that the test of all local schemes of union is that they should express locally the principle of the great catholic unity of the Body of Christ. They trust, therefore, that the united Church, conserving all that is of spiritual value in its Indian heritage, will express under Indian conditions and in Indian forms the spirit, the thought and the life of the Church Universal.

It is the intention and hope of the uniting Churches that all the actions of the united Church will be regulated by the principles that it should maintain fellowship with all those branches of the Church of Christ with which the uniting Churches now severally enjoy such fellowship, and that it should continually seek to widen and strengthen this fellowship and to work towards the goal of the full union in one body of all parts of the Church of Christ.

They pray that this scheme of union may under God's providence be a contribution towards the uniting of His Church and the ordering of its life in freedom and truth, and they trust that the united Church in South India will never so use the provisions of the Constitution under which it will begin its life that they will become barriers against the fuller truth and richer life to be attained in a wider fellowship, but that it will always be ready to correct and amend them as God's will becomes more clearly known through the growing together of the several parts of the now divided Church into a common mind and spirit under the guidance of the one Holy Spirit...

THE EPISCOPATE IN THE UNITED CHURCH

9. The uniting Churches accept the historic episcopate in a constitutional form as part of their basis of union. They all agree in their desire that the relation of the bishop to his people should be that of chief pastor and father in God ; and that he is called to feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof as shepherd, not as lord either in act or title, but as an example to the flock. There are, however, within the uniting Churches differing views and beliefs about episcopacy, which have been frankly recognized throughout the negotiations. For example, some regard episcopacy merely as a form of church government which has persisted in the Church through the centuries and may as such be called historic, and which at the present time is expedient for the Church in South India. Others believe that episcopacy is of divine appointment, and that episcopal ordination is an essential guarantee of the

sacraments of the Church. Some, again, hold various views intermediate between these two. The acceptance of episcopacy by the uniting Churches, in which there are such differing views and beliefs concerning it and concerning orders of the ministry, is not to be taken as committing the united Church to the acceptance of any particular interpretation of episcopacy, and no such particular interpretation shall be demanded from any minister or member of the united Church.

Whatever differences there are, however, all the uniting Churches are agreed that, as episcopacy has been accepted in the Church from early times, it may in this sense fitly be called historic, and that it is needed for the shepherding and extension of the Church in South India. Any additional interpretations, though held by individuals, are not binding on the United Church. . .

THE WORSHIP OF THE UNITED CHURCH

12. The uniting Churches recognize that they must aim at conserving for the common benefit whatever of good has been gained by each body in its separate history, and that in its public worship the united Church must retain for its congregations freedom either to use historic forms or not to do so as may best conduce to edification and to the worship of God in Spirit and in truth.

It is therefore not their intention that because of the union any form of service at present in use in any of the uniting Churches shall be forbidden in the united Church . . .

Subject to provisions which shall be made in the Constitution and to any special regulations which may be issued by the Synod of the Church with regard to the services of ordination and consecration and the essential elements or central parts of other services, especially those of Baptism, Holy Communion, and Marriage, every pastor and congregation shall have freedom to determine the forms of their public worship.

THE AUTONOMY OF THE UNITED CHURCH

13. The uniting Churches agree that the united Church should of right be free in all spiritual matters from the direction or interposition of any civil government.

They further agree that the united Church must be an autonomous Church and free from any control, legal or otherwise, of any Church or Society external to itself. At the same time they re-

member that the united Church, on account of its origin and history, must have special relations with the Churches in the West through which it has come into existence, and they are confident that it will so regulate its acts as to maintain fellowship both with those Churches and with other branches of the Catholic Church with which the uniting Churches are now in communion.

They also recognize that the united Church, as a part of the Church Universal, must give full weight to the pronouncements of bodies representative of the whole Church, and, in particular, would desire to take part in the deliberations and decisions of an Ecumenical Council, if such should in the mercy of God be some day called together...

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FULL UNITY IN MINISTRY AND LIFE WITHIN THE UNITED CHURCH

16. The uniting Churches agree that it is their intention and expectation that eventually every minister exercising a permanent ministry in the united Church will be an episcopally ordained minister.

For the thirty years succeeding the inauguration of the union, the ministers of any Church whose missions have founded the originally separate parts of the united Church may be received as ministers of the united Church. .. After this period of thirty years, the united Church must determine for itself whether it will continue to make any exceptions to the rule that its ministry is an episcopally ordained ministry, and generally under what conditions it will receive ministers from other Churches into its ministry...

185. CONDITION OF CHRISTIANS IN EAST PUNJAB FOLLOWING PARTITION (1948 A.D.)

In this account Dr. E. C. Bhatty of the National Christian Council of India describes the impact of partition and the consequent exchange of population upon the Christian community in the Punjab, with special reference to the East. It is to be noted that the prediction that Christians would not, in the future, be able to earn their living ' from land ' turned out to be incorrect. *The United Church Review*, Vol. XXI, (June 1948), pp. 136-137.

Reports from some areas in East Punjab show that Christians have been adversely affected by the Partition and the consequent interchange of population. We have no reports from the Gurgaon and Rohtak districts where some Christians are alleged to have suffered loss of property. With one or two exceptions, no loss of

life occurred. Threats and persecution continue in individual cases in these districts. There has been some loss of life and property in other districts of East Punjab. The following details from a few areas give some idea of the nature and extent of loss :

Ferozepore :

Christians migrated from W. to E. Punjab ..	500 families
Killed	150 persons
Property looted worth	Rs. 1,00,000
Loss through floods	Rs. 3,00,000

Guruhar Sahai and Mamdot :

Villages affected by flood	11
Villages looted	1
Families rendered destitute	74 — persons 394
Estimated loss of property of these families ..	Rs. 16,589

Moga :

Loss of life	23 persons
Loss of houses, with their belongings ..	72 families
Loss of household effects to looters ..	55 families

Loss of Life : Causes

(1) Some were killed through joining the groups of raiders.
(2) Some were killed from enmity.
(3) Some were killed in tne course of indiscriminate slaughter.
(4) Some were killed who had fraternized with Muslims in the past.

Social Disabilities and Persecution :

New type of social disabilities are being imposed to which Christians were not accustomed. Demands are being made on them for kinds of menial service which they have not formerly rendered. In Patiala, wells formerly used jointly by Muslims and Christians have been closed for Christians by the new landlords. Forced labour has been familiar. Belongings of Christians have been forcibly taken by refugees. Obviously these things happen because a certain section of the people have little regard left for law and order. The Government of East Punjab is, however, making desperate efforts to restore law and order to restrain the activities of the lawless element.

Economic Status :

Those who were employed as Contract labourers by Muslims lost their share of grain. They could not claim their share of the crop as they were employed as private labourers. Those cultivating land on batai system are however, secure.

Reports from all areas indicated that the place of Christians on the land, and in agricultural work generally, is becoming very insecure. Dr. H. J. Strickler, for instance, reports, ' in the Batala area the Christians are being entirely left out in the re-distribution of land. An effort has been made in Kapurthala to have some of the land left by Muslims given to Christians, but it now appears that the authorities are unwilling to let the Christians have land, because they want a landless servant class in the villages. In some areas it is reported that Christian tenants on land have had their crops stolen or destroyed. The Salvation Army reports that on both sides of the line they have been receiving petitions for help from Christians, who say they are going to be displaced and turned off the land, when the present crop is harvested. Also it is expected that the food situation will become much worse for Christians after the grain they now have, purchased cheaply during the disturbances, is exhausted '. Rev. E. Y. Campbell from Jullundhar reports that Christians who are cultivating land on the basis of a six months' lease, will not get a renewal as the land will be allotted to refugees. The families which have been rendered destitute need grain and clothing.

Report has also come that Christians on the land in Bhavalpur State are being threatened by Muslims and the State authorities have expressed inability to guarantee protection. In the section of Kasure Tahsil on the India side of the border there has been pressure on Christians, and threats that unless they again become Mazahabi Sikhs they will not be allowed to stay. This has been brought to the attention of the Ministers who have promised to put an end to these threats. The matter of the Bhavalpur Christians has also been brought to the attention of the Government of India, and Mr. Leslie Cross of the Friends' Service Unit, who has gone to Bhavalpur State to assist in evacuation of non-Muslims has been asked to investigate and, if need be, to make representations to His Highness on behalf of the Christians. The Government will be prepared to evacuate them if such an emergency arises.

The general consensus of opinion is that Christians can no longer earn their living from land, and must now look more to industry. How far they will be able to continue to live in villages while dependent on other occupations is a question requiring careful study. Some occupations formerly closed may now be

open, due to the migration of other groups, or the break up of caste restrictions on traditional hereditary occupations. Christians can now more easily take up such work as spinning, weaving, tailoring, leather work in the village itself. An increasing number of young men must get into industry in larger centres and they should certainly be trained in skilled work, such as machines, lathes, iron, brass, pottery, etc. Commercial and other vocational training should also be available.

Every one in the area feels that in the light of the social and economic changes that have taken place the need for radical re-thinking of our training and educational programme is most urgent. There is also the need to strengthen our pastoral work to provide adequate Christian nurture, so that the Christian message may find a vital expression through the life of Christian groups who are suffering or have suffered hardship and persecution in the disturbed areas. It is most encouraging to note the developments towards closer co-operation which have been taking place in these areas. Missions and Churches have realized that singly they cannot tackle these problems. They must act together in closest co-operation. A meeting of representatives of Missions and Churches in the area was held on February 17 and 18, 1948, when the situation arising out of the recent disturbances was considered comprehensively, and a decision was taken to form a ' United Board ' of representatives of all Churches and Missions. Such a step as this is in the right direction and is most necessary.

186. THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA ON THE FREEDOM OF RELIGION (1950 A.D.)

The freedom of the citizens of India to profess, practice and propagate their religion is guaranteed by the Constitution adopted in 1950. The following are the relevant clauses, identified by number.

25. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

(*a*) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus...

Explanation I.—The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation II.—In sub-clause (*a*) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

26. Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

(*a*) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes ;

(*b*) to manage its own affairs in matters religious ;

(*c*) to own and acquire movable and immovable property ; and

(*d*) to administer such property in accordance with law.

27. No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

28. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institutions wholly maintained out of State funds.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(3) No person attending any educational institution recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

187. THE NIYOGI COMMITTEE'S ENQUIRY INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN MADHYA PRADESH (1956 A.D.)

The report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, popularly known as the Niyogi Committee after its Chairman, M. B. Niyogi, appointed by the Government of Madhya Pradesh under circumstances described in the document itself caused extensive controversy and anxiety in India, among both Christians and non-Christians. In the face of this controversy the recommendations were not implemented at the time, but the report nevertheless reflected the attitude towards Christian missions held by a number of people in India. The portions reproduced here are from the first volume of the report : (1) The Background, (2) The Findings, and (3) The Recommendations. *Report of the Christian Missionary Activities Enquiry Committee, Madhya Pradesh*, 1956, Vol. I, pp. 23, 131-132, 163-165.

1. The Background

It will thus be seen that whereas on the one hand an impression was being created all over India at the instance of foreign Missionaries engaged in the Udaipur and Surguja States that the Madhya Pradesh Government was following a policy of discrimination or harassment of the Christian population and Missionaries, on the other hand numerous complaints were being received of the objectionable activities of these foreign Missionaries, especially in the tribal areas and public resentment was mounting up. Government was not clear whether the agitation was confined only to the newly-merged State or whether other areas of Madhya Pradesh where the Missions were working were also affected. It must be noticed that about 30 different Missions are working in Madhya Pradesh with varying number of centres in each district. Almost the entire Madhya Pradesh is covered by Missionary activities and there is hardly any district where a Mission of one denomination or the other is not operating in some form or the other. More than half the people of Madhya Pradesh (57.4 per cent) consists of members of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes and it is amongst these that the Missionary activities are mostly confined. The background of Missionary activities in the old Madhya Pradesh and the merged States was repeatedly brought to the Government's notice as a warning to be taken notice of and the almost similar methods adopted by the Roman Catholic and other Missions in the new areas of Surjuga and Udaipur States was reported to be of great significance. Missionaries had vehemently denied allegations of proselytism and anti-national activities and had levelled charges against local officials whenever enquiries were made by such officers. In respect of authorities outside Madhya

Pradesh these Missionaries also complained against the attitude of the Madhya Pradesh Government and vile propaganda against the Government was carried on in the foreign press. In these circumstances, Government decided to get the matter examined thoroughly through an open public enquiry and our Committee came to be appointed.

2. The Findings

On consideration of the material before us we arrive at the following conclusions of fact :—

1. Since the Constitution of India came into force there has been an appreciable increase in the American personnel of the Missionary organizations operating in India. This increase is obviously due to the deliberate policy of the International Missionary Council to send evangelistic teams to areas of special opportunities opened to the Gospel by the Constitutional provision of religious freedom in some of the newly independent nations, equipped with new resources for mass evangelism through the press, film, radio and television.

2. Enormous sums of foreign money flow into the country for Missionary work, comprising educational medical and evangelistic activities. It was out of such funds received from abroad that in Surguja the Lutherans and other proselytizing agencies were able to secure nearly 4,000 converts.

3. Conversions are mostly brought about by undue influence, misrepresentation, etc., or in other words not by conviction but by various inducements offered for proselytization in various forms. Educational facilities such as free gifts of books and education are offered to secure the conversion of minors in the primary and secondary schools under the control of the Missions. Money lending is one of the various forms adopted as a mild form of pressure to induce proselytization. This is found very prominently in the case of Roman Catholic Missions operating in the hill tracts of Surguja, Raigarh, Mandla, etc. Cases where coercion was reported to have been used are generally of those converts who wish other members of the family to join their Christian parents or to secure girls in marriage.

4. Missions are in some places used to serve extra-religious ends. In spite of assurances given by foreign and national Missionaries to authorities, instances of indirect political activities were brought to the notice of the Committee.

5. As conversion muddles the convert's sense of unity and solidarity with his society, there is a danger of his loyalty to his country and State being undermined.

6. A vile propaganda against the religion of the majority community is being systematically and deliberately carried on so as to create an apprehension of breach of public peace.

7. Evangelization in India appears to be part of the uniform world policy to revive Christendom for re-establishing Western supremacy and is not prompted by spiritual motives. The objective is apparently to create a Christian minority with a view to disrupt the solidarity of the non-Christian societies, and the mass conversions of a considerable section of Adivasis with this ulterior motive is fraught with danger to the security of the State.

8. Schools, hospitals and orphanages are used as a means to facilitate proselytization.

9. Tribals and Harijans are the special targets of aggressive evangelization for the reason that there is no adequate provision of hospitals, schools, orphanages and other social welfare services in the scheduled or specified areas.

10. The Government of Madhya Pradesh have throughout followed a policy of absolute neutrality and non-interference in matters concerning religion and allegations of discrimination against Christians and harassment of them by Government officials have not been established. Such allegations have been part of the old established policy of the Missions to overawe local authority and to carry on propaganda in foreign countries.

3. The Recommendations

The following is a summary of the recommendations which we have made :—

1. Those Missionaries whose primary object is proselytization should be asked to withdraw. The large influx of foreign Missionaries is undesirable and should be checked.

2. The best course for the Indian Churches to follow is to establish a United Independent Christian Church in India without being dependent on foreign support.

3. The use of medical or other professional services as a direct means of making conversions should be prohibited by law.

4. To implement the provision in the Constitution of India prohibiting the imparting of religious education to children without the explicit consent of parents and guardians. The Department of Education should see that proper forms are prescribed and made available to all schools.

5. Any attempt by force or fraud, or threats of illicit means or by moral and material assistance, or by taking advantage of any person's inexperience or confidence, or by exploiting any person's necessity, spiritual (mental) weakness or thoughtlessness, or, in general, any attempt or effort (whether successful or not), directly or indirectly to penetrate into the religious conscience of persons (whether of age or underage) of another faith, for the purpose of consciously altering their religious conscience or faith, so as to agree with the ideas or convictions of the proselytizing party should be absolutely prohibited.

6. Religious institutions should not be permitted to engage in occupations like recruitment of labour for tea gardens.

7. It is the primary duty of Government to conduct orphanages, as the State is the legal guardian of all minors who have no parents or natural guardians.

8. Government should issue an appeal to authoritative and representative Christian Missionary Organisations and to Christians in general to come together and to form an authoritative organisation which should lay down and inform Government in clear terms the policy which the Missions and Christians in general will follow in respect of propagating their religion, the methods to be followed in conversions, the type of propaganda which will be promoted and the attempts which will be made to confine their evangelistic activities within the limits of public order, morality and health.

9. An amendment of the Constitution of India may be sought, firstly to clarify that the right of propagation has been given only to the citizens of India and secondly that it does not include conversion brought about by force, fraud or illicit means.

10. Suitable control on conversions brought about through illegal means should be imposed. If necessary legislative measures should be enacted.

11. Advisory Boards at State level, regional level and district level should be constituted of non-officials, minority communities like Tribals and Harijans being in a majority on these boards.

12. Rules relating to the registration of Doctors, Nurses and other personnel employed in hospitals should be suitably amended to provide a condition against evangelistic activities during professional services.

13. Circulation of literature meant for religious propaganda without the approval of the State Government should be prohibited.

14. Institutions in receipt of grants-in-aid or recognition from Government should be compulsorily inspected every quarter by officers of Government.

15. Government should lay down a policy that the responsibility of providing social services like education, health, medicine, etc., to members of scheduled tribes, castes and other backward classes will be solely of the State Government, and adequate services should be provided as early as possible, non-official organizations being permitted to run institutions only for members of their own religious faith.

16. A separate department of cultural and religious affairs should be constituted at the State level to deal with these matters which should be in charge of a Minister belonging to a scheduled caste, tribe, or other backward classes and should have specially trained personnel at the various levels.

17. No non-official agency should be permitted to secure foreign assistance except through Government channels.

18. No foreigner should be allowed to function in a scheduled or a specified area either independently or as a member of a religious institution unless he has given a declaration in writing that he will not take part in politics.

19. Programmes of social and economic uplift by non-official or religious bodies should receive prior approval of the State.

(B. P. PATHAK)
Member-Secretary

(M. B. NIYOGI)
Chairman

(*Members*)

1. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta.
2. S. K. George.
3. Ratanlal Malavya.
4. Bhanu Pratap Singh.

188. ANGLICAN/MAR THOMA CONCORDAT (1957 A.D.)

In 1936 relations of occasional inter-communion had been established between the Mar Thoma Church and the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. At a meeting held at Tiruvella on the 18th and 19th of August, 1957, a concordat was drawn up between the two churches which brought them into an even closer relationship. Cited in C. E. Abraham, ed., *The Mar Thoma Syrian Church and The Church of India and the Church of South India*, pp. 7-8.

1. On ecumenical occasions, and at other common gatherings when members of both Churches are present together at the Holy Communion members of either Church may receive communion when the celebrant is of the other.

2. Persons seeking to change their membership from the Mar Thoma Church to the Anglican Church or vice versa shall be admitted to such new membership only after they produce a certificate signed both by the Pastor of the congregation and by the Bishop of the Church to which they have belonged hitherto. Such certificates shall not ordinarily be issued until a period of at least three months has elapsed after it has been applied for.

In a place where there is no parish priest of one of the Churches, the Bishop of the other shall inform the Metropolitan of the Church whose member wishes to change his membership, before allowing him to be received.

3. The same procedure shall be followed in the case of those who may seek admission into the Anglican or Mar Thoma Church even from any other Church if they were members of the Anglican or Mar Thoma Church at any period within three years before applying for such admission. In issuing certificates of admission the Bishops will require information on this point.

4. Subject to rule (5) below, the pastors of either Church shall have authority and discretion to admit to the Holy Communion, communicant members of good standing in the other Church in places where they have no access to the ministrations of the Church to which they belong.

5. A Pastor of either Church may require a certificate of good standing from a member of the other Church before admitting him regularly to Holy Communion. Such a certificate should be signed by a Pastor of the Church of the member concerned.

6. Even in places where a member has access to the ministrations of his own Church he may on particular occasions be allowed

to communicate in the other Church. In such cases the procedure laid down in rule (5) shall be followed but the certificate to be produced in such cases must state not only that the member is a communicant in good standing in his own Church but also that his own Pastor approves of his being admitted to the Holy Communion in the other Church.

7. The existing rules obtaining between the two Churches regarding marriages (Deshakuri, Pasaram, etc.) shall continue to be observed until altered by mutual consent.

8. In the event of a member of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church taking up work in the sphere and jurisdiction of an Anglican diocese he may, with the approval of his Metropolitan be granted the status of membership of the Anglican Communion in that diocese by the Anglican Bishop concerned, during the period of his work there on the understanding that he does not cease to be a member of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church. At any particular time he can participate in the government of one Church only, by the exercise of vote and the holding of office.

9. Bishops of provinces or of Missionary Dioceses of the Anglican Communion may be asked to exercise episcopal supervision over clergy and laity of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church at the request of the authorities of the Church (see Lambeth Conference Report 1948, part II, p. 72).

189. RESOLUTION OF THE PRATHINIDHI MANDALAM OF THE MAR THOMA CHURCH ON INTER-COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA (1958 A.D.)

The Prathinidhi Mandalam, the supreme authority of the Mar Thoma Church, took the following action relative to relations with the Church of South India. Cited in C. E. Abraham, ed., *The Mar Thoma Syrian Church and The Church of India and The Church of South India*, pp. 43-44.

Formula

(*a*) Each Communion believes the other to hold the essentials of the Christian faith and recognises the other as part of the Universal Church.

(*b*) Each Communion agrees to admit members of the other Communion to participate in the Holy Communion.

(1) The Mar Thoma Church believes that Episcopal integration of the ministry of the C.S.I. is essential for full inter-communion.

(2) The Mar Thoma Church recognises that among its members there are those who have objection to receiving Holy Communion celebrated by the non-episcopally ordained ministers of the C.S.I. and those who do not have such objection. The Mar Thoma Church respects those differences even as the C.S.I. by its pledge (Constitution 2.13) guarantees to respect the consciences of those who wish to receive Holy Communion only from episcopally ordained ministers.

(*c*) Intercommunion does not require from either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal formulations, sacramental devotion or liturgical practices of the other.

Rules of Comity

(*a*) At conferences of students and clergy and at ecumenical gatherings members of either Church may participate in the Holy Communion when the celebrant is of the other Church, as it promotes fellowship.

(*b*) Ministers of either Church shall have authority and discretion to admit to the Holy Communion communicant members of good standing in the other Church in places where they have no access to the ministrations of the Church to which they belong. Members of either Church desiring to avail themselves of this privileges shall previously give notice of their intention to the minister concerned and shall produce to him a certificate from their own minister as to their communicant status and good standing in the Church to which they belong.

(*c*) In places where a member has access to the ministrations of his own Church, he should generally be discouraged from communicating in the other Church. However very exceptional cases may be allowed if his own minister approves of his being admitted to the Holy Communion of the other Church. In such cases procedure laid down in rule ' b ' shall be followed.

(*d*) Persons seeking to change their membership from the Mar Thoma Church to the C.S.I. or vice versa shall in no case be admitted to such new membership until they produce a certificate signed by the diocesan Bishop of the Church to which they have belonged hitherto. Such certificates shall not ordinarily be issued until a period of at least three months has elapsed after it has been applied for.

(*e*) The same procedure shall be followed in the case of those who may seek admission into the C.S.I. or the Mar Thoma Church even from any other Church, if they were members of the C.S.I. or Mar Thoma Church, at any period within three years before

applying for such admission. In issuing certificates of admission the Bishop will require information on this point.

(*f*) Persons belonging to either of the Churches residing in an area where they have no access to the ministrations of their own Church may be admitted as members of the other Church without prejudice to their membership in their own Church on recommendation from the minister of their own congregation and the head of their Church.

190. C.S.I./LUTHERAN CONSULTATION : AGREED STATEMENTS (1959 A.D.)

Following the formation of the Church of South India in 1947, representatives of that Church entered into conversations with other Churches in South India with the purpose of exploring means of enlarging the unity of the Churches. Among the more significant and fruitful of these conversations were those with the Lutheran Churches. They led ultimately to the proposal to unite the C.S.I. and the Lutheran Churches in South India in the proposed Church of Christ in South India. The agreed statements reached in 1959 were an important landmark in this movement. *The CSI-Lutheran Theological Conversations* 1948-1959, selections from pp. 165-180.

1. *The Relation of Doctrinal and Confessional Statements to the Being of the Church.*

This statement was prepared at a conference of representatives of the C.S.I., Lutheran and Baptist Churches in South India. It has since been officially accepted by the Synod of the Church of South India, and by the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India.

(1) God has revealed Himself to us, and the centre of that revelation is His saving act in Jesus Christ. This revelation of Himself is the reality which the Church seeks to express in words in its creeds and confessions of faith.

(2) The faith by which this revelation is apprehended is a far deeper thing than intellectual assent to propositions. It is the self-surrender in love and trust of the whole personality to the loving God, who offers forgiveness, the status of sons, to men who do not deserve and can never deserve such mercy and such love. It is man's answer to the God ' who quickeneth the dead and calleth those things that be not as though they were ' (Rom. 4 :17).

(3) Yet faith necessarily involves an intellectual element. It must include belief in certain truths about God and the belief that certain events happened and that they have a certain meaning.

(4) As the Church seeks to confess what it believes and to safeguard it from misunderstanding or distortion, it must use human language, but must always remember that human language is necessarily inadequate to express the fullness of God's revelation.

(5) The use of creeds and confessions to guide Christians into deeper experience and to preserve the essentials of the Christian message, is, in principle, sound and scriptural.

(6) All creeds and confessions are subordinate standards subject to the authority of the word of God.

(7) The Word of God is primarily and essentially the Incarnate Word, Jesus Christ. It is in the Holy Scriptures that God speaks this Word to us, for they are the inspired record of and testimony to His revelation of Himself. They are therefore the supreme and decisive standard of faith. But, in seeking to understand them we must remember that Christ, the central subject and at the same time the Lord and the Master of the Holy Scripture, is the ultimate touchstone of every biblical book and word. We must also remember that there is no authority either of Scripture or of creed which can convince the natural man of Christian truth apart from his spiritual conversion, or which can preserve the Christian man or church infallibly from error. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to enable us to hear and believe the Word of God in the Scriptures.

(8) The Holy Spirit, who speaks in the Scriptures, and who brings home God's Word to our hearts, unites us thereby in one fellowship of the faithful which is the Church. It is in that fellowship that the Scriptures are to be read and understood. While every man is finally responsible for his own discerning of and obedience to the truth, no Christian can disown his fellowship with other Christians or ignore the testimony of the Church as to what the Holy Spirit says in the Scriptures. In particular the ancient creeds of the Church, setting forth the Christian mesasage as believed and confessed by the Church in many lands and in many centuries, and as we believe and confess it, must carry immense weight, not as being themselves the revelation which is the object of faith, but as witnessing to it and as guarding against misunderstanding of it.

(9) The Church is bound to require belief in certain Christian essentials from its members and—in more detail—from its ministers and authorised teachers. But in fulfilling this duty in each individual case it must never allow its practice to obscure the truth that intellectual belief is only one element, and that not the most important, in what is needed. It must always seek to be sure that the person in question has faith in Christ. The capacity of the Church to make right decisions, and to apply its standards wisely

in each case, will depend upon the measure of its faithfulness to its Lord and of its responsiveness to the Holy Spirit in its daily life.

(10) Agreement regarding the basic doctrines which are of the essence of the Gospel is the pre-requisite of union between Churches. Nevertheless the basis for the unity of the Church is oneness in the Lord Himself.

5. *The Church and the Ministry.*

(1) The nature of the Church and of the Ministry within the Church can only be understood rightly within the context of God's revelation of Himself, His eternal saving purpose, His saving act in Jesus Christ His Son, and the continuing saving work of the Risen and Ascended Christ through the Holy Spirit. The Church exists by the grace of God and those who belong to it are members of the Church by the grace of God.

(2) The Church exists and men are called into the fellowship of the Church in order that through it God may carry out His eternal purpose in Christ (Eph. 3 : 9-11). It is a fellowship of men with God and with one another, in Christ. It is the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. As its heart is this fellowship with God, it is at its deepest a reality in the Spirit. We believe that it is God's will that men became members of the Church through faith in the Gospel and baptism into Christ (Eph. 2 : 8-10 ; John 3 : 5 ; Matt. 28 : 19-20). To be outside the Church by unbelief or to be cut off from the Church's fellowship because of unrepented sin is a serious matter. Yet, in the present state of disunity no body of Christians can rightly claim to be in an exclusive sense the Church or look upon its judgements as necessarily inspired by the Spirit.

(3) It is God's purpose that the Church should be the place where He and His saving work in Christ are manifest. It is His will that the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church be seen in actual communities of human beings baptised into Christ, to which He can make known His will and through which He can fulfil it (John 17 : 21). Because of the continuing fact of human sin, even in the redeemed, the Church is not in any of its manifestations wholly obedient to the will of God. But the Church of God in every place is called continually to turn to God, so that through its life Christ may be set forth.

(4) We not only speak of the Church in the sense of the totality of all Christ's people, throughout all ages and all lands, who are one in Him ; and of the Church as the local fellowship of believers who gather in one place. We use the word ' Church ' of the Christians in a region and of those Christians who belong to a particular denomination. Where such usage carries with it the

implication that other Christians are not members of the Church Universal, it is not in accordance with the New Testament. We do well to recognise that the fundamental unity is God's gift in Christ and does in à real sense appear even where, owing to history, race or tradition, there are such wide divergencies in belief and practice among those calling themselves Christians that we cannot yet see any way towards visible unity consistent with loyalty to Christ and His truth...

(5) The Church is Apostolic in its essential nature, in the sense that it shares in the Mission of the Son by the Father and is empowered by the Holy Spirit (John 20 : 21-23). For the accomplishment of this total ministry to the world there is given by the Holy Spirit to every member of the Church some form of ministering (I Cor. 12). Every Christian man and women, has a *charisma*, a spiritual gift. It is an error to think that some members of the Church are called to be active and the others to be passive. Every member is meant both to give and to receive...

(6) In order that through His Church Christ may be made manifest to the world which He died to save, the quality of the relationship between every member of the Church and God through Christ and of every member of the Church one with another in Christ, is vital. Therefore Christ has given to His Church a ministry, in the special sense of persons set apart to perform certain functions within the fellowship, which are needed so that the Church may worship God in thankful remembrance of His saving act in Christ and may witness for Him to the world (Eph. 4 : 11-12). This pastoral office was given to the Apostles at the first. There is a ' watching over ' the sheep and a ' serving ' of the sheep, ' Episcope ' and ' Diakonia'. Both are found in Christ and both He entrusts to men (I Peter 5 : 1-4). We believe that the continuance of such a ministry is necessary to the full well-being and activity of the Church everywhere and in all ages. We believe that by Christ's will it rests upon the Church to determine, in dependence upon the Holy Spirit, how from time to time these functions of watching and serving shall be carried out. We see no reason to believe that any one pattern of the Christian ministry has an exclusive claim to divine ordering and approval at all times and under all conditions. If we discern God at work within any body of Christians through a ministry of the Word and Sacraments, we are bound to take this fact into account in any discussion about Christian unity.

(7) This ministry is within the Church and is not to be thought of as possessing any independent relation to Christ or any authority which is not given by Christ in the Church and for the life and work of the Church. It is not the creation of the Church and it is given to the Church not to please the Church but to do the will of Christ its Lord. It is the duty of the Church to be alert to recognize that

God has called this or that man to this special ministry, in whatever form, and to set him apart by prayer and, according to ancient custom, laying on of hands to the office. At the heart of the work of the ministry must always be the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, for it is in and through them that Christ constitutes and keeps alive His Church.

(8) The essential continuity of the Church is in the continued presence and activity of the Lord with the faithful. But, because the Church's obedience is imperfect the Church has not continued perfectly 'in love'. The fellowship has been broken. Because of disunity among Christians, changes in the form, manner of ordination and functions of the ministry have been made without the approval of the whole Church on earth at the time. It appeared to those responsible then and appears to many today, that such action was inevitable unless they were to be false to the Gospel. Yet, although we may agree that such changes may at times rightly be made, we must insist that they can only be justified if done prayerfully and with the widest possible approval of Christians, subject always to the absolute duty of loyalty to Christ and the Gospel. God is a God of order and we may not lightly change what we have inherited. Yet order itself may be made into an idolatry that turns men away from the living God. All remain under the obligation to seek God's way for the restoration of unity in the Spirit.

(9) Every Church makes rules for the election and setting apart of men for the ministry and keeps a list of those whom it accepts as ministers within its fellowship. In the sense of obedience to its rules, validity is an essential concept of any society. The error comes when we identify the rules of our Church with the absolute will of God, and deny, implicitly or explicitly, that God accepts and uses some other form of the ministry equally with the form to which we are accustomed. It is not for us to determine how and where God can work.

(10) It is true that the exercise of oversight (Episcope) was early entrusted by the Church to one bishop in each area. This ordering was for many centuries universal and is still the accepted form among the majority of Christians. We do not hold that it is essential for the existence of the Church, or for the ministry and the Sacraments ; or that God has bound Himself to grant through it greater blessing, authority or grace than through other forms of the Church's ministry. It has been and can be grievously misused, as can every gift of God. But we see value in it as expressing through a person the oversight which is a vital part of the pastoral ministry within the Church. However, the presence or absence of episcopacy, ought not by itself to determine the relationship of one Church with another.

191. THE CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA : A HISTORICAL STATEMENT (1965 A.D.)

A brief survey of the history of the union movement in North India is given in the fourth revised edition of the Plan of Union. *Plan of Church Union in North India and Pakistan*, 1965, pp. iii-vii.

The Plan of union now issued by the Negotiating Committee for North India and Pakistan is the result of the work begun by the Round-Table Conference in the year 1929. Its sources can be traced back to the movement of the Holy Spirit in the Churches which found expression in the Edinburgh Conference, 1910, the meeting at Tranquebar in South India in 1919, and the appeal of the Lambeth Conference of 1920. In the year 1924 various Presbyterian and Congregational Churches had come together to form the United Church of Northern India, and this United Church had sent out invitations to several other Churches and Missions to consider a wider union. The then Wesleyan Methodist Church, in responding to this invitation, suggested the desirability of a Round-Table Conference to which all who were willing to discuss the possibilities of union should be invited ; and as a result the first Round-Table Conference met at Lal Bagh Girls' School at Lucknow on the 10th and 11th of April, 1929. At this meeting the following Churches were represented,—the Australian Churches of Christ Mission, the Australian Methodist Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the United Church of Northern India ; and a member of the Anglican Church was present as a visitor. The Conference heard and recorded statements from the different Churches on Church polity, the Sacraments, International Relationship and Doctrinal Standards. The representatives were all very definitely and heartily of one mind in urging that the conversations begun in this Conference should be continued on the lines indicated in the resolutions adopted. Among the things that were emphasized were :

(i) Our thanks to Almighty God that a gathering such as this, characterized by complete brotherliness and good-will, had been made possible, and our conviction that steps towards union could be crowned with success only through the earnest prayers of all and by the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

(ii) The necessity of educating public opinion and promoting fraternal intercourse between the Churches wherever possible.

The Round-Table Conference met for the second time at Delhi on the 18th and 19th and 20th of November, 1930, when in addition to those mentioned above the Church of the Brethren and the

Society of Friends sent representatives and the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon was officially represented. There were visitors also from the United Presbyterian Mission of the Punjab and two delegates from the Joint-Committee on Union in South India. As a result of this linking of North and South, an All-India Conference on Church Union was held at Nagpur in the following year (November 7 to 9, 1931), attended by five representatives from the north and four from the south, under the Chairmanship of Bishop Azariah of Dornakal. It is to be noted that while advocating definite steps towards closer co-operation in evangelistic efforts, in Christian service and in worship, this Conference pointed the way which the Round-Table Conference has sought to pursue. It urged, ' that, in as much as the present restrictions to Christians fellowship largely arise from different conceptions of the ministry and it is only by a solution of this problem that the Church can be united, it is essential that the question of the unification of the ministry be examined and agreement reached regarding principles of Church organization and government '.

The second Round-Table Conference had appointed a Continuation Committee to continue its work, and this Committee, meeting in 1935 and 1936, prepared a definite ' Basis of Negotiation ', which was revised and accepted at the third Round-Table Conference at Lucknow in 1937 ; and after further revision and amplification, was issued by the Continuation Committee in July 1939. With the greater definiteness of agreement reached in this ' Basis ' we find that some of the Churches represented in the first meetings had dropped out, and the negotiations were continued by the United Church of Northern India, the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, the British and Australian Methodist Churches, and the Baptist Churches.

During this same period of ten years or so, negotiations had also been going on between the United Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Baptists in what was called the Joint Council, which issued a Plan of Union after its fifth meeting in 1940, and with further revision in 1942. In some ways this Plan, which avoided any commitment to the historic Episcopate and followed a polity more Presbyterian in character, seemed likely to achieve a quicker consummation ; and owing to this and to the uncertainty regarding the negotiations in South India, there was some hesitation in proceeding with the work of the Round-Table Conference. For a time also, from 1940, the Baptist Churches withdrew from the Round-Table.

However, the Basis was further developed at a meeting of the Continuation Committee in March, 1941, and at the fourth meeting of the Round-Table Conference on July 31st and August 1st, 1941,

there was a significant development in the proposal by a committee that the unification of the Episcopates of the Anglican and the Methodist Episcopal Churches should be 'initiated by the mutual laying-on of hands with prayer, and with the use of such a formula as shall leave no room for any scruple or doubtfulness'. In 1944 the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon issued an appeal for a more general acceptance of such a method of unification of the ministry, based on a penitent acknowledgement of the defects in all our ministries due to the fact of our divisions; and in the following year the Continuation Committee commended this suggestion for further consideration. As a result the Round-Table Conference, meeting at Allahabad in July, 1947, accepted this method for the unification of the ministries by the mutual laying-on of hands with prayer, and incorporated it into the Basis.

The consummation of the scheme of union in South India brought about a new hopefulness and zeal for progress towards union in the north; and there resulted a general feeling that the Round-Table 'Basis' provided the best foundation for definite negotiations for union. The following year the Lambeth Conference gave a measure of approval to the schemes worked out by the Round-Table Conference and by the Churches in Ceylon, and showed its particular interest in the methods suggested for a unification of the ministry at the inauguration of union. This growing acceptance of the 'Basis' finding expression in definite resolutions of the four Churches represented at the Round-Table Conference, made possible the first meeting of a definite 'Negotiating Committee' which was held at Calcutta on the 27th to 30th March, 1951; and which was joined by delegates of the Baptist Churches again. Further meetings of the Negotiating Committee took place in 1952 and 1953, as a result of which a revised edition of the Plan was published in 1954.

The three following years saw a great deal of work both in clarifying and developing the Plan, particularly in regard to Membership of the Church and the Unification of the Ministry. At the request of the Churches in Pakistan it was decided to prepare for two autonomous united Churches on a common basis and in full communion with one another. The material was also re-arranged so as to provide in Part I the elements of the Constitution of the united Church and in Part II the transitional procedures and services at the inauguration of union. As a result the Negotiating Committee meeting at Pachmarhi in April, 1957, and joined there by the Church of the Brethren and the Disciples of Christ, adopted the revised 3rd Edition of the Plan to be presented to the seven negotiating Churches for their decision.

In 1958 the Lambeth Conference made certain suggestions for changes which might facilitate relations of communion between

the united Church and the Anglican Churches, and these were taken up by the Episcopal Synod of the C.I.P.B.C. and forwarded for consideration. The Negotiating Committee therefore met again at Jabalpur towards the end of 1959 ; but, while it decided to adopt certain verbal and procedural changes in the inauguration service, which were incorporated in a revised issue of the Proposed Services at the Inauguration, it decided against considering any further amendment of the Plan.

In the following years, the U.C.N.I. and the British and Australasian Methodists secured favourable voting, but the M.C.S.A., the C.I.P.B.C. and the Brethren failed to get the majorities consistutionally required for going forward into union, and the voting of the Baptist Churches was very much divided. By the beginning of 1963 it was clear that further revision would be necessary in view of the adverse voting and criticisms, and by general agreement the Working Committee initiated a review of the Plan which was carried further by the Continuation Committee meeting at Nagpur in February, 1964. An endeavour has now been made to clarify where there has been misunderstanding and to remove objections, but without making substantial alteration in the basic nature of the Plan as accepted in 1952.

This Plan of Union owes much, as will be evident, to the scheme for the Church of South India. In these later revisions and developments it has also borrowed much from the work of our brethren in Ceylon and in West Africa. It seeks to avoid over-elaboration of detail and to leave a great deal to be worked out in the process of ' growing together ' after the inauguration of Union. The Plan is again issued with a deep sense of thankfulness to God for the growing measure of understanding in which we have been led forward in spite of obstacles, and with a growing faith, hope and prayer that, under His continued guidance, it may be used for the achievement of a Union in accordance with His will.

192. THE CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA : A STATEMENT ON ITS APPROACH TO UNITY (1965 A.D.)

In the fourth edition of the Plan of Union for North India the Continuation Committee included an explanation of what was being attempted and why. This was intended for the information of the churches that would now vote on the proposal. *Plan of Church Union in North India and Pakistan*, 1965, pp. viii-x.

1. What we are trying to do :

(*a*) We are seeking the true and visible unity of the Church in North India/Pakistan.

(*b*) Believing that God created *one* Church, a spiritual union and fellowship of those who are in Christ through the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit, we pray and seek for a visible expression of this *oneness* in the worship, life and witness of the Church here and now.

(*c*) We intend that the Church of North India/Pakistan shall maintain fellowship with all those parts of the Church of Christ with which we separately enjoy fellowship now.

(*d*) We also desire, as opportunity offers, to seek an ever-widening union with other parts of the Universal Church.

(*e*) With full trust in the Holy Spirit, we are looking towards a united Church which, as its members learn together in a wider fellowship, will maintain in reverent humility a readiness to correct and reform itself as God's will becomes more clearly known.

(*f*) Though we are established as separate Churches in India/Pakistan through the missionary zeal of Christians in other lands, we desire the healing of these historic separations without the surrender of any essential principle of Faith or Order.

(*g*) We are agreed in seeking a united Church which will be an integral part of the Universal Church, and yet develop the special and distinctive gifts which God has given to the people of India/Pakistan in the expression of their worship, their faith and their common life.

2. Why we are trying to do it :

(*a*) We are seeking union because we believe that the restoration of the visible unity of the Church on earth is the will of God, and we believe that the Holy Spirit is leading us to resolve the differences which at present separate us. Our Lord Jesus Christ prayed : '. . . that they all may be one ; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me' (John 17 : 21).

(*b*) We believe that the unity to which God is leading us will make the Church in North India/Pakistan a more effective instrument for His work, more eager and powerful to proclaim by word and deed the Gospel of Christ, filled with greater charity and peace, and enriched in worship and fellowship.

3. How we are trying to do it :

(*a*) The negotiating Churches humbly and thankfully recognise one another as parts of the One Church of Jesus Christ. God in His mercy has blessed them and used them for His redemptive work in India/Pakistan. Each Church in separation has received

gifts from God and had borne special witness to certain elements of the truth ; yet all believe that the perfecting of the whole Body requires the heritage of each, and also of every part of the Universal Church.

(*b*) They also acknowledge one another's ministries to be real ministries of the Word and Sacraments and recognise the spiritual efficacy of Sacraments and ministrations which God has clearly blessed. Yet they believe that God who wills His Church to be one also wills that its ministry should be one ministry, acknowledged by every part of the Church. So long as the Churches are in separation, there can be no ministry which fully corresponds with the purpose of God : the ministry can only possess the fullness which God intends for it when all the parts of the Body are one.

(*c*) In the light of these convictions we do not desire that any one Church shall absorb other Churches, nor that one tradition shall be imposed upon all ; but rather that each Church shall bring the true riches of its inheritance into the united Church to which we look forward. We intend that it shall be a Church which, while holding to the fundamental Faith and Order of the Universal Church, shall assure to its members freedom of opinion in all other matters, and also freedom of action in such varieties of practice as are consistent with the life of the Church as one organic body.

193. DECLARATION OF THE ALL-INDIA SEMINAR ON THE CHURCH IN INDIA TODAY (1969 A.D.)

The Declaration of the Roman Catholic All India Seminar on the Church in India Today, held at Bangalore in 1969, reflects the influence in India of the ecumenical attitudes fostered by the Second Vatican Council. Extracts are reproduced here. *All India Seminar, Church in India Today, Banaglore,* 1969, pp. 240-241.

We Belong Together : Our commitment to Jesus far from separating us from our brothers and sisters puts us at their service after the example of the Master. The Christian fellowship is an open fellowship, open to all men and open to every human value. With the second Vatican Council we recognise the wealth of truth, goodness and beauty in India's religious traditions ; it is all God's gift to our nation from ancient times. Moreover, we believe not only that God is the source of the inspirations of the past, enshrined in sacred writings and alive today in manifold spiritual traditions, but that his saving love is manifest in the great movements of renewal, of solidarity, of special responsibility and self-sacrifice for the underprivileged, which cut across all barriers of caste and creed and make us feel one in selfless dedication.

We are united to our Christian brothers of other Churches and with all those who struggle against poverty, illiteracy and disease, and work for social reform, economic uplift and better living conditions. It is not our intention to build rival structures for the achievement of such goals ; our institutions are at the service of our country, in collaborations with other agencies, private and public, religious and secular. Beyond collaboration at the institutional level, we hope to be present in organisations and efforts for the welfare of India, of Asia and of the larger world community and to put our professional skills and other talents at their disposal.

As we re-examine ourselves and our way of life in the light of Christ, we find that in the past with the help of God's grace we have in some measure been faithful to our calling and worked for the progress of our country in various spheres such as education and social services. We have also endeavoured to contribute our share to the spiritual growth of our nation. At the same time we are regretfully aware of the deficiencies that are the consequence of our human weakness and our failure to measure up to our ideals. Within the Christian fellowship we have not always placed the accent on the essentials of our faith ; and in our relations with others we have tended in many ways to lack understanding and to stand aloof from the mainstream of India's thought-patterns and traditions as well as of her contemporary development, by confining ourselves to the fostering of our narrow, domestic interests.

United now with all our brothers and sisters in a common effort, we sincerely desire to share with them the inspiration of our faith in Jesus, and to welcome them to the fullness of our Christian fellowship. We recognise with joy and gratitude that the teaching and example of Jesus have deeply influenced not a few of our leaders and their followers, and that they in their turn have been to us a living illustration of the Sermon on the Mount.

194. RESOLUTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA SEMINAR ON THE CHURCH IN INDIA TO-DAY (1969 A.D.)

The Resolutions of the All India Seminar on the Church in India Today, held at Bangalore in 1969, reproduced here reflect the influence of the Second Vatican Council on Roman Catholic thinking in India with respect to ecumenism, religious dialogue and Indian culture. *All India Seminar, Church in India Today, Bangalore*, 1969, pp. 284-285, 295-297.

I. Ecumenism

1. (*a*) We request the C.B.C.I. to re-organise its present Commission for Ecumenism and Dialogue into two separate commissions ; one for ecumenism and the other for dialogue with non-Christians and non-believers.

(*b*) We recommend that the commission for ecumenism be broad based so as to include therein experts in ecumenism and persons with practical experience from among the clergy, religious and laity ; if possible from different areas of the country.

(*c*) We feel that the present Directory on Ecumenism has to be adapted to the needs of India and request the C.B.C.I. to take the necessary steps to produce an Indian Directory and ensure its wide publicity and circulation.

2. We urgently request the C.B.C.I. to constitute the necessary machinery for furthering dialogue and collaboration with the National Christian Council, the Syrian Orthodox Church, and Evangelical fellowships.

3. (*a*) We recommend that Education in Ecumenism should be effectively promoted at all levels of the Church in India, diocesan, parochial, institutional and individual. We particularly urge that greater opportunity and special training in ecumenism be given to our seminarians and our College students.

(*b*) We reiterate that an ecumenical commission should be established in every diocese, as recommended by the Directory. Wherever this is not possible, an expert, either lay or clerical, should be set apart specifically to promote ecumenism.

II. Dialogue with Other Religions

1. In order to bring about the positive attitude towards non-Christian religions as demanded by our faith and affirmed by Vatican II, we recommend that a theology for dialogue in the Indian context based on salvation history and embracing all positive values of non-Christian religions be worked out.

We affirm that the development of this theology is possible only if the Church in India, convinced of its urgency and necessity, enlists the co-operation of the best talent available.

2. Since many more experts in the various religious traditions, especially Hinduism and Islam and quasi-religious movements such as Marxism and secular humanism, are an absolute necessity, the C.B.C.I. and C.R.I. are requested to set up jointly a commission for the two-fold task of exploring present resources in personnel and of urging the authorities to select, train and assist suitable candidates from the clergy, religious men and women and the laity.

3. We recommend the establishment of

(*a*) many more centres of dialogue ;

(*b*) authentic Christian ashrams open to all non-Christians.

4. We recommend that the treasures of Christian spirituality be published in all major languages of India and that this work be taken up with much urgency.

5. Generally non-Christian women can best be approached by women. Therefore, our women, lay and religious, should be trained and given opportunities for this necessary dialogue. They can render an invaluable service of charity to their non-Christian sisters.

6. As far as possible, in all our efforts at dialogue we should strive for an ecumenical approach, a combined effort by all Christians ...

III. Indian Culture

According to Vatican II the Church is fully mature when, in a given country, the people reflect and formulate their Christian faith in their own idiom and express it in their particular art forms.

1. Whereas the proper atmosphere must be created and the soil prepared for the evolution of an authentic Indian theology by recognising the seeds of the Word hidden in the diversified Indian tradition, especially in its Sacred Scriptures and in its living religious experience, nourished by which the Church in India must grow, it is recommended that :

(*a*) under the creative guidance of the magisterium directed by the Holy Spirit, all be encouraged in the spirit of freedom to enunciate our faith in the richness of the Indian tradition, using its thought-patterns, concepts and symbols.

(*b*) the sacredness of the world, particularly in its modern dimensions of science and technology, be acknowledged in the light of the mystery of the Incarnation, emphasising the intrinsic value of the time-bound existence and of human history in all its aspects, as well as its redemption and its assumption in the Body of the Risen Christ.

(*c*) against the background of Indian culture, devout meditation on our spiritual inheritance of the Bible and of Indian Scriptures be encouraged, in order that our faith may be deepened and a truly Indian theology blossom out of this experience.

(*d*) with a view to developing leadership in this field, proper formation in Indian culture be provided :

(i) to all, by offering facilities so that they may become aware of and are nourished by their rich cultural heritage ;

(ii) to priests and religious, in a general way during the period of their training ;

(iii) to some priests, religious and people, in a more specialised way in secular universities.

2. Whereas, in the Indian tradition, art is an integral part of religious expression and whereas true art can only emerge from personal charism, it is recommended that :

(*a*) every effort be made to encourage real and artistic talent in our youth and provide a proper formation for them particularly in our schools and colleges so that those who have the talent and vocation may attain personal fulfilment in their way of commitment to Christ.

(*b*) in the development of an Indian Christian art, emphasis be laid on the one hand, on the deep spirituality and rich variety of Indian music and on the sense of mystery and symbolism of Indian architecture, and on the other hand, on the freedom and originality of the artist to draw from far and wide and give creative expression to the feelings and yearnings of contemporary humanity.

3. Whereas the renewal of the Church in India demands more research and scientific study and a better diffusion of information on Indian culture, it is recommended that :

(*a*) the existing institutes or centres of Indian culture as well as other such institutes to be created in different parts of the country be given due recognition and encouragement and provided with competent personnel by those concerned.

(*b*) an agency be set up to co-ordinate the work of these centres as well as to stimulate the starting and functioning of new centres and to harmonise all available talent into a combined effort.

(*c*) this co-ordinating agency be recognised by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India and its services, as those of an expert body, be made available to the Conference.

195. THE PLAN OF CHURCH UNION AND DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF NORTH-EAST INDIA (1970 A.D.)

Though two of the members of the North-East India Christian Council, the Diocese of Assam of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon and the Eastern Himalayan Church Council of the United Church of Northern India, were involved directly in the North India negotiations, and two others were involved indirectly, the N.E.I.C.C. convened a Faith and Order Conference at Barapani in 1963 to consider the question of whether or not there were valid grounds for working towards a separate united church in that region. For various reasons of geography, denominational make-up and cultural distinctness it was agreed that there were grounds. These were also accepted as valid by the North India negotiating committee. The Plan and Draft Constitution were approved by a Church Union Conference held at Shillong on 19th and 20th of September 1969, and were published for consideration by the Churches in 1970. Portions of this document are reproduced here. The area covered by this Plan are North Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. *The Plan of Church Union and the Draft Constitution of the Church of North-East India*, 1970.

THE PLAN OF UNION

I. Historical Statement

Since 1963 there have been two Faith and Order Conferences and two Church Union Conferences apart from general discussions in the Council (N.E.I.C.C.) itself for a number of years on the question of Church Union. The original plan was whether the affiliated Churches of North-East India should form part of the Church of North India then in the negotiating stage. In view of certain objections and the practical difficulties involved in relating the Churches of our area to such a union with the Church of North India, the affiliated churches of this Council felt that in the circumstances now obtaining in India, it would be wiser to work towards a union within North-East India itself in the first instance. Even the two Churches namely, the Eastern Himalayan Church Council (UCNI) and the Assam Diocese of the CIPBC which have been effectively represented in the CNI negotiations expressed their preference for joining the Church of North-East India if it comes into being. The Working Committee of the Negotiating Committee of the CNI which met in Calcutta in July 1969 also expressed its appreciation of the view of the NEICC and the consensus of opinion was that the two units of the CNI in this region would be

allowed to join the Church of North-East India if and when it comes into being.

The Second Draft of the Basis of Union for the Churches in North-East India was formulated in November 1965 by delegates representing eighty-six per cent of the non-Roman Catholic Christians in North-East India as well as by observers representing another seven per cent, totalling 93% of the non-Roman Catholic Christians of North-East India most of whom are either Baptists or Presbyterians. The Second Draft as well as Dr. Downs' paper entitled 'Church Union: Theological and Non-Theological Factors' were printed and circulated to all the affiliated Churches. Many Churches had translated the above two papers into the local languages either as booklets or as publications in their official organs. The contents have been discussed at the higher echelons of the Councils of the various constituents of the NEICC many of whom have accepted the Second Draft as the Basis of Union. Some units, most notable among which is the CBCNEI, have by and large accepted it at the higher levels but they have yet to carry all the Associations and local congregations with them. This is understandable in the context of the organizations of each affiliated Church as well as in view of the variegated nature of our multi-ethnic and multi-lingual community with different social backgrounds and heritage. But the wind of change has been blowing and circumstances have compelled us to draw closer to each other. Above all, the Holy Spirit is silently but surely working towards unity in spite of obstacles.

In the last Church Union Conference held in Shillong on September 19 and 20, 1969 we have gone one step ahead in deciding to set up this Drafting Committee which will prepare the Plan of Union and the Draft Constitution of the Church of North-East India. Such a Plan of Union and Draft Constitution will enable the affiliated Churches to study more closely and concretely what would be the implications of Church Union thereby enabling them to grapple with and come to decisions on the basic issue of union.

II. Statement of Intention

At the level of leadership, it was generally felt that the Churches should first unite in mutual trust, leaving the settlement of their smaller differences to be worked out in the context of the larger fellowship. In this context it may be noted that the Church of South India came into being in 1947, while the Church of North India will be inaugurated in November 1970. We in North-East India have been moving slow because of several factors. Social changes are taking place at a very rapid pace in this world, and we

in North-East India have to catch up or else be swamped by undesirable ideologies. The Churches cannot afford to be self-centered any longer . . . Even while attempting to draw up a scheme that would be more relevant to our own region we cannot lose sight that we are part of a larger Church even within India and so we should maintain a larger ecumenical perspective.

We Christians of North-East India still belong to different denominations which have names like 'Baptist', 'Presbyterian', 'Lutheran', 'Anglican', etc. If these names separate Christians from each other, then they are contrary to the teaching of the Bible. In this Draft, it is proposed that the now separated Churches in our region unite, both to follow the will of God and to give a stronger witness. No new denominations will be formed, but the existing Churches should enlarge their fellowship to include all the other Christians in the region into one Church representing all the Protestant Christians instead of the more than fifteen separate denominations that now exist.

In former times the need for this kind of united Church organization was not so great because there was little communication between the different parts of our area. Today with the rapid progress of our peoples, the situation is quite different. Government officers move from place to place and young people travel outside their own areas to study. In the towns and cities, Christians from many different denominations live together but cannot have a congregation of their own together. Some of them are always guests of the denomination in that place—guests when they should be equally full members of that local Church. Because of improved communications, non-Christians are also becoming more aware of the divisions among Christians. This becomes a stumbling block for them. When they are asked to accept Christ as their Saviour they ask, 'to which Church shall I belong?' Because they receive many different answers they turn away. Christ said that His disciples must be united so that the world might believe the gospel. The gospel proclaims that all men are one in Christ. The presence of many different denominations denies this truth. Christians who condemn each other and do not have fellowship with each other bear false witness. Christians themselves are confused about the differences between the denominations. If Christians are confused, how much more confused must the non-Christians be. For the sake of Christ's Kingdom, this stumbling-block must be removed.

III. Our Approach to Unity

The kind of United Church that is proposed will not solve all our problems but it will give us greater strength to face those problems. The following are the few points on which a great

measure of unanimity has been reached in past conferences and discussions :—

1. The Churches now in existence would join together in an organic body.

2. No immediate changes will be imposed at the level of the local congregation or in the organisations such as Associations, Presbyteries or similar Councils which bring the congregations in one area together.

3. The forms of worship and witness that now exist may continue until the uniting churches feel the need for a common form of worship.

4. There would be about ten Councils or more above the level of the Associations or similar authorities which would bring the Associations or Presbyteries within a region together.

5. There would be a central Assembly which would bring the Councils together.

6. There would be greater sharing of leadership and resources.

7. It is recognised that there are certain traditional differences among the denominations that would be coming together in the United Church. These differences are important. It is not proposed that Christians should compromise or deny what they believe to be truth. But the best way to witness to the truth as we understand it is to witness within one fellowship. Even within the denominations as they now exist, there are differences of opinion and theology, but that does not prevent fellowship within those denominations. We must first accept each other as fellow members of the Church, because God has given His own blessing to the work of each of the denominations in our area.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION

1. The Name of the Church

1. The name of this Church is the Church of North-East India.

2. The Church of North-East India is constituted by the Union of the following Churches :—

(*a*) The CBCNEI (Council of Baptist Churches in North-East India)

(*b*) The Presbyterian Church of NEI

(*c*) The Diocese of Assam (CIPBC)

(*d*) The Eastern Himalayan Church Council
(*e*) The Baptist Church of Mizo District
(*f*) The North Bank Baptist Association
(*g*) The Tripura Baptist Christian Union
(*h*) The Northern Evangelical Lutheran Church
(*i*) The Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church (in Assam)
(*j*) The Laker Independent Evangelical Church
(*k*) The Church of God
(*l*) The Church of God (Ka Turoi Gospel)
(*m*) The Christ National Church
(*n*) Salvation Army
(*o*) Goalpara Baptist Union
(*p*) Other Churches which may join at a later stage ...

IV. The Sacraments of the Church

1. The CNEI believes that the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord (Holy Communion) as ordained by Christ are means of grace through which God works in us and by which we are united to God . . .

A. Baptism

3. The Church of North-East India allows both Infant Baptism and Believers' Baptism but not both on the same person and shall receive as communicant members all those who have been baptised or confirmed. It assures freedom of expression for the particular convictions of different traditions.

4. All ministers of the Church shall be free to administer either or both forms of Baptism. A minister who, for conscientious reasons, is unable to administer Baptism to infants shall be free to invite some other minister of the Church to perform the rite...

V. THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

A. The Ministry of the Whole Church

The CNEI believes that the Church is a royal priesthood through which the risen and ascended Christ continues His High Priestly work. All its members are called, by virtue of their union with Christ, to a priestly ministry ; both Godward, in the offering of

spiritual sacrifices, gifts and prayers for mankind ; and manward, in the showing forth by life and word of the glory of the redeeming power of God. No individual and no one order in the Church can claim exclusive possession of this priesthood.

It recognises that it is the duty and privilege of every member to share in the service of God which is the ministry of the whole Church. This ministry includes the worship of God both in private and in public, the offering of daily life and work to God, Christian loving service both in the family of the Church and in the community at large, and faithful witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ by life and word. This includes both the laity and the clergy, each exercising its own ministry. Within this ministry, it recognizes and welcomes a rich diversity of gifts both in men and women. It will be the prime concern of the Church that all its members should contribute fully to its life of worship, witness and service.

B. The Special Ministry

1. The CNEI believes that within this ministry of the whole Church, Christ has given a special ministry of the Word and the Sacraments. To this ministry some are set apart, receiving authority not simply from the Church but from Christ the Head of the Church. The special ministry is one of the organs of the Body through which Christ the Head acts by the Holy Spirit to build up the Body and to equip its members for their part in the ministry of the whole Church...

2. The special ministry of the CNEI shall consist of Elders or Deacons, Pastors or Priests and Bishops.

3. *Elders or Deacons*

The CNEI agrees that there shall be recognized in the Church the office of Elder or Deacon. In each congregation men and women shall be elected by the congregation after prayer and careful consideration as persons who are recognised as having the appropriate spiritual gifts (Acts 6 : 3) for this office and shall be set apart in a solemn public service of the Church. Elders or Deacons shall share with the ministers in the spiritual care, nurture and government of the Church, in evangelism and Christian service, in the conduct of public worship and in the preaching of the Word. Insofar as possible it is expected that elders or Deacons shall undertake a course of Bible Study and Doctrine as arranged by the Church. All Elders or Deacons of a congregation will be members of the governing body of the congregation. Elders or Deacons shall be represented in the higher councils or assemblies of the Church in accordance with the Constitution.

4. *Pastors or Priests*

In any particular place or community, the Ministry of the Word and the Sacraments will be exercised by the Pastors. A Pastor will normally be posted by the Association or Presbytery to minister in a particular town, village(s) or district called a ' pastorate ' . . .

5. *Bishops*

The Bishop will be a servant of Christ and for Christ's sake a servant of His flock in a Church Council area.

. . . Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and in Christ's name he will have a concern for all who live in the Council area, whether Christians or not ; and within the Christian community he will care particularly for the other ministers in the area . . . Bishops will be elected by the Church Council concerned subject to the approval of the Assembly . . .

6. The ordained ministers of all the uniting Churches shall be accepted as fully ordained ministers of the CNEI.

7. Future ordination of ministers shall be evolved as the Churches grow together. So also will the form of ordination. . .

VII. The Organization of the Church

1. The Organisation of the Church of North-East India will consist of the Local Church, the Association or Presbytery, the Church Council or Synod or Diocese, and the Assembly. . .

196. INAUGURATION OF THE CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA (1970 A.D.)

The Church of North India was inaugurated on 29th November 1970. It's constitution was similar to that of the Church of South India with certain features of the Ceylon scheme included. Its most distinctive feature was the unification of the ministries of the uniting churches. Bishop D. M. Kennedy gives the following eye-witness account of the inauguration. ' Work in Progress : The CNI History, III, ' *Indian Church History Review*, vol. VII, No. 1 (June 1973), pp. 20-24.

' The glorious long-awaited day has come :
All glory be to Thee, O God ;
This is the song of every heart. . . '

These words of the special Hindi lyric, beautifully sung on the eve of the Inauguration of the CNI by a special CARAVS Choir, summed up the feelings of all in the vast congregation which

assembled on the Inauguration Day itself. The setting was in the spacious grounds of All Saints' Cathedral, Nagpur, that geographically convenient and ecumenically-minded Christian centre ; the date was Sunday, 29 November 1970, the first Sunday in Advent.

As the Cathedral was not large enough to accommodate the vast congregation of some three thousand Christians from India and overseas, the ceremonies were held in a large *pandal* outside. It was perhaps appropriate that the new Church should begin its pilgrimage in a tent ! In the colourful opening procession the official representatives of the six uniting Churches (The Council of the Baptist Churches in Northern India, the Church of the Brethren in India, the Disciples of Christ, the Church of India, the Methodist Church (British and Australian Conferences), and the United Church of Northern India), ministerial and lay,—each marching for the last time under their own denominational banner—were preceded by the Overseas representatives and the representatives of sister Churches in India itself, prominent among them the tall, imposing figure of Archbishop Raymond of Nagpur, representing the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. A. K. Kisku, M.P., Deputy Minister of Education and Youth Welfare, Government of India (who was representing the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi) and Dr. M. M. Thomas, Chairman of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches were appropriately seated at the front of the large congregation.

After the opening hymn, Declarations ' accepting the Plan of Church Union in North India (4th edition)—including Part I, the Constitution, and Part II, regarding the Inauguration of the Union and Interim Arrangements '—were read in the hearing of the congregation by duly authorised lay representatives of the six uniting Churches. These *Declarations*, together with the names of bishops and other ministers accepting the Constitution of the CNI, were placed on the Communion Table and brought before God in prayer. The presiding minister, the Right Reverend Dr. Gurbachan Singh, retiring Moderator of the UCNI (Presbyterian-Congregationalist) General Assembly, then solemnly declared ' that these six Churches within the area of union have become one CHURCH OF NORTH INDIA '. In response to these momentous acts and to his tremendous declaration, so quietly and reverently spoken, the vast congregation burst into the Doxology.

After a moment or two of silence, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper began. It was according to the Liturgy of the Church of South India and was observed, on this First day of the Inauguration ceremonies, after the Reformed or presbyterian tradition. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Rupert Davies, President of the British Methodist Conference. Within the setting of the

Sacrament, some eighty ministers, including the former Anglican bishops, were ' unified ' by prayer and the laying-on of hands of a nucleus of three ministers of the new Church—the Most Reverend Lakdasa de Mel, formerly Anglican, the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Pradhan, Chairman of the Inaugural Committee, formerly Baptist, and the Reverend C. C. Pande, Secretary of the Inaugural Committee, formerly Methodist. (Note : Those ' unified ' included the eight ' Bishops Designate ', formerly Anglican Bishops, assigned to CNI Diocese ; nine ' Bishops-Elect ' from the five non-Anglican traditions ; four retiring Bishops (formerly Anglican Bishops, not associated with Dioceses) ; and also representative and accredited Presbyters of all six uniting Churches, chosen in such a way that, as far as possible, each Diocese of the CNI was represented by at least one presbyter who later assisted the Diocesan Bishop at the Diocesan Unification ceremonies.) As agreed to in the *Plan of Union, 4th edition*, these three ministers had, a few minutes previously, themselves been commissioned with prayer and the laying-on of hands by representatives of all the six Churches now united, *plus* four other ministers from outside the area—the Moderator of the Church of South India (the Most Reverend P. Solomon), the Right Reverend Mar Theophilos (representing the Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church), the Reverend W. Manners of the Presbyterian Church of Assam, and the Reverend E. L. Wenger of the Baptist Church, Dacca, East Bengal.

All who witnessed this Unification Rite—so much discussed and argued over in the long drawn-out period of negotiation—were able to note its true significance. It included an unequivocal affirmation by *all* the representative ministers, non-Anglican as well as Anglican, of the reality of their existing ordination as an ordination to the ministry of *the Universal Church*. This was followed by the paradoxical statement by all—Anglicans as well as non-Anglicans—of their willingness to receive *from God* whatever ' of Christ's grace, commission and authority ' *He* might wish to give to each. A prayer with the same ' intention ' was followed by a silent laying-on of hands on groups of ministers coming forward together, not on a denominational but on a regional basis ; and in a marvellously reverent stillness the Service moved on to the sharing in the Bread and Wine and to the triumphant recessional hymn, ' Glorious things of thee are spoken, Zion, city of our God '. We marched now, not in our denominational groups, but as one body under one banner, of the Church of North India.

On the morning of Monday, 30 November—appropriately it was St. Andrew's day—eight former Anglican Bishops, assigned to Dioceses in the CNI, were confirmed in their appointments. At this ceremony Dr. Benjamin Pradhan presided. Then followed the Consecration of nine new Bishops coming from the UCNI,

'British' Methodist, Baptist, Disciples and Church-of-the-Brethren traditions. The Bishops taking part in the Consecration were the retiring Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in India, the Most Rev. Lakdasa de Mel, and the Right Revs. Christopher Robinson and John Sadiq, together with the Moderator of the CSI and Bishop Mar Theophilos of the Mar Thoma Church. The Ordinal used was that of the Church of South India and, at very short notice, the Moderator of the CSI preached a moving sermon on the pastoral office of a Bishop. The ceremonial, though dignified, was simple ; and the questions put to the new bishops and answered by them left in no doubt their commitment and that of the whole Church of North India to the Apostolic, Biblical and evangelical faith. The Service again culminated in Holy Communion, the Bread and Wine being given on the second day to groups of communicants who came forward to different parts of the *pandal*, and received the elements, standing, from the Bishops and Presbyters.

The Inauguration ceremonies, which had been carried out on a background of tremendous goodwill and active co-operation from Christian and indeed non-Christian Nagpur, and which had been enriched by several cultural programmes of outstanding interest and merit, reached a fitting climax in a very simple Service of Thanksgiving, with prayer, Bible reading and hymns, on the afternoon of 30 November. It began with an act of remembrance of some of the great pioneers of Church Union in India, including Dr. Augustine Ralla Ram and Dr. Donald Sully, this part of the Service being appropriately and impressively conducted by the Rev. C. C. Pande, the veteran Secretary of the Inaugural Committee, who had been the friend and colleague of most of the people commemorated. It ended with a stirring and prophetic sermon by one of the youngest members of the Inaugural Committee, the Rev. S. K. Biswas of Calcutta Cathedral, who was so soon to play an outstanding part in the relief of the refugees from Bangla Desh, before the CNI was one year old. With his challenging words ringing in their ears, the Bishops and representative Presbyters and laymen began to disperse on their return journeys to the nineteen far-flung Dioceses of the new Church, there to carry forward in their own regional languages and their Diocesan areas the work of reconciliation and unification so memorably begun at Nagpur.

197. A COMMON STATEMENT FROM THE ORTHODOX-MAR THOMA CONVERSATIONS (1971 A.D.)

Representatives of the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church held a series of unofficial conversations in which their differences as well as points of agreement were considered. The Common Statement, reproduced here, indicates the points of agreement and was published in 1971. Fr. Paul Verghese and M. Thommen, *Orthodox-Mar Thoma Conversations*, pp. 5-7.

A few of us belonging to the Syrian Orthodox Church and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church have been meeting together in the name of Christ, several times in the last three years. We want to place before our Christian Brethren this agreed statement of some of the things which we hold in common with each other as Christians.

1. *Common History :*

Our two Churches shared a common history till the later half of the nineteenth century. This common history in one undivided Church for some eighteen centuries or more still exists as a strong bond between our two Churches.

The demand for reform in the undivided Syrian Church was the occasion for our division. At least as early as the beginning of the 19th century these demands were made both by Anglican missionaries and by Syrian Christian leaders. There were abuses in the Church ; the priests were often uneducated and unable to give spiritual leadership. The demands for reform were often justified ; sometimes they resulted from lack of understanding of Eastern tradition.

The demand for reform was pressed by the missionaries. In 1836 the Mavelikara Synod unanimously rejected the demands, except for a solitary voice of protest. Many of these demands were subsequently complied with in both our Churches, but alas only after the separation. The liturgy is celebrated by both our Churches in Malayalam—one of the major demands of the reformers. Many of the demands of that time we both find now irrelevant. In major matters of faith we find ourselves substantially in agreement.

2. *Common Faith :*

Much of the faith of the Christian Church we still hold in common. The great ecumenical creed of Nicea and Constantinople still remains fundamentally the formulation of our faith.

Our common faith is in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God ; in the Father, the creator of all ; in the Son of God who became incarnate, was made man and was born of the Virgin Mary, who lived and taught and died on the cross on behalf of us all ; who rose again from the dead, who sits at the right hand of the Father, and who will come in the fulness of his glory to judge the living and the dead ; in the Holy Ghost, who spoke in the Old and New Testaments by the prophets and apostles, who proceeds from the Father alone, who is worshipped and adored with the Father and the Son ; and in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins ; we look for the resurrection of the dead and life eternal in the world to come. These fundamental realities which we hold together give us a basis for common prayer and common labours for the glory of God in the service of man.

3. *The Bible :*

We both hold the Bible in high reverence as the Spirit-inspired Word of God, the Apostolic testimony to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Both Churches agree that while the Holy Scriptures are unique in their status and authority and that no other documents can be placed on the same level in the Church, it is also accepted that the Bible is not the *sole* authority for the whole faith and practice of the Church.

4. *The Church :*

We both believe that the Church is the body of Christ, the divine society into which members are incorporated by Baptism and Chrismation. It is the communion of Saints in which members united to Christ and to each other in Christ, share in one common life by the Holy Spirit.

5. *The Eucharist :*

Both our Churches are agreed that the Eucharist is the central act of worship of the Church in which we share in the one eternal and unrepeatable sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. We have agreed that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, not in the sense that it repeats the unique sacrifice of Calvary, but that it makes the sacrifice of Calvary present in our time and enables us to participate in the saving power of the cross and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. We are also agreed that Jesus Christ gives himself his own body and blood, in the Eucharist and that we partake truly of Christ's body and blood. We are also agreed in rejecting the terminology and underlying philosophical concepts of the Western doctrines of transubstantiation and Consubstantiation. We have agreed that

in the Eucharist by the action of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine after consecration, are the body and blood of our Lord, though we are unable to explain the precise sense in which that is so.

6. *The Ministry :*

We are agreed that the episcopal ministry with the presbyters and deacons to assist the bishops, belongs historically to the life of the Church. We both believe that the Holy Spirit bestows special grace and power through the sacrament of ordination.

7. *The Place of the Departed :*

We both agree that belief in the communion of the saints belongs to the faith and practice of both our Churches ; that all those who belong to Christ are united to Christ and to each other in the Body of Christ ; that death does not separate the believer from Christ or his Body ; that the living and the departed belong together to the same Body of Christ though in different ways ; that we should commemorate the faithful departed and especially those departed whose lives have been an inspiration to the Church. We are all agreed that Christ is the sole mediator between God and Man, but that asking the departed saints for their prayer on our behalf would be no more a violation of the sole mediatorship of Chrsit than asking our living Christian friends to pray for us. There are many significant disagreements among us in this field, but on the points mentioned here, we find a remarkable area of agreement. The disagreement relates to the questions—firstly, whether our departed are in a state where they can pray to God or benefit from our prayer ; secondly, whether we can communicate with them.

8. *Practice :*

There is much else that is common between us in practice. The Eucharistic and other liturgies we use are similar in many respects. We both face east for public worship, make the sign of the cross, and genuflect in adoration of God. Our episcopal and clerical vestments are similar. We both give the kiss of peace in much the same manner. We both use the mother tongue for worship. We have many of the feast and fast days in fact much of the Church calendar in common. We both believe in and claim apostolic succession. We both insist on celibacy of bishops and allow married people to be priests. We are both members in the World Council of Churches.

198. HIGH COURT JUDGEMENT ON THE ORISSA FREEDOM OF RELIGION ACT OF 1968 (1972 A.D.)

In the late 1960s two states, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, passed similar legislation severely limiting, in the eyes of most Christians in India, the constitutional right to freely propagate religion. Acting upon a suit filed by certain Protestants and Roman Catholics, the Orissa High Court in 1972 declared the Orissa Freedom of Religion Act 2 of 1968 to be unconstitutional. Though the High Court ruling was eventually overturned and the Act declared valid by the Supreme Court of India, the judgement of the Orissa High Court, extracts of which are reproduced here, makes clear the concerns of Indian Christians concerning this type of legislation. The judgement is published *in toto* in the *National Christian Council Review*, Vol. XCII, No. 12 (December 1972), pp. 499-517.

7. Sections 2, 3, and 4 are the material provisions of the Act with reference to which the *vires* thereof is attacked. These are those provisions :

2. *Definitions :*

In this Act unless the context otherwise requires :

(*a*) ' conversion ' means renouncing one religion and adopting another ;

(*b*) ' force ' shall include a show of force or a threat of injury of any kind including threat of divine discipline or social excommunication ;

(*c*) ' fraud ' shall include misrepresentation or any other fraudulent contrivance ;

(*d*) ' inducement ' shall include the offer of any gift or gratification, any benefit, either pecuniary or otherwise.

3. *Prohibition of forcible conversion :*

No person shall convert or attempt to convert, either directly or otherwise, any person from one religious faith to another by the use of force or by inducement or by any fraudulent means nor shall any person abet any such conversion.

4. *Punishment for contravention of the provisions of section* 3 :

Any person contravening the provisions contained in section 3 shall, without prejudice to any civil liability, be punishable with imprisonment of either description which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees or with both ;

Provided that in case the offence is committed in respect of a minor, a woman or a person belonging to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, the punishment shall be imprisonment to the extent of two years and fine up to ten thousand rupees.

Section 5, makes any offence under the Act cognisable and section 6 makes prosecution conditional upon sanction of the prescribed authority.

Counsel for the petitioners have conceded during argument that Christianity does not approve of ' force ' or ' fraud ' as methods of conversion. It has been indicated in the written note submitted by counsel that any conversion obtained by such process is void. Objection, however, is raised to the language used in the definition ' fraud ' and ' force '. It is stated that each of these two words, apart from being common place, has a known connotation having been used in the Penal Code for over a hundred years. Section 349 of the Code defines ' force ' while section 25 defines ' fraudulently '. (e.g. section 366-A and 415 I.P.C.). These words have received authoritative treatment in several judgements of Courts. If the impugned Act intended to prohibit the use of ' force ' or ' fraud ' as methods of conversion, mere reference to the words should have been enough. On the other hand, by giving extended meaning to the words, interference with the Christian religion has been caused.

It is true that ' force ' as defined in the Code refers to physical force while the definition under the Act extends the scope. ' Threat of divine displeasure ' or ' social excommunication ' are said to constitute the extension of the concept. The petitioners have contended that people from the down-trodden sections of society ordinarily take to Christianity as an escape. It is in this background that the legitimacy of the purpose—the extension of the definition —falls to be determined. Threat of divine displeasure numbs the mental faculty ; more so of an undeveloped mind and the actions of such person thereafter are not free and according to conscience. Social excommunication is a serious malady and forces the excommunicated to live a hazardous life. The extended meaning given to the word ' force ' does not seek to import anything very foreign into the word inasmuch as the two acts which are now included in the definition fit into the essential concept of the word. Merely because the Penal Code confines the meaning of the word to bodily force, in our opinion, cannot justify the acceptance of the contention advanced before us. Similar is our view with regard to the term ' fraud '. The contention that there is vagueness in the term ' misrepresentation ' does not impress us. As we have already said, these are not the normal methods adopted for bringing about conversion. Again they are tainted and we see no justification in the contention that they cannot be prohibited. The intention

of the law is to regulate conduct and we see nothing wrong with a law which excludes these as not approved conduct.

While we accept that these are sometimes used as methods of proselytizing and may be taken as part of Christian religion, yet the restriction is covered by the limitation subject to which the right is guaranteed under Article 25 (1).

We shall now deal with the argument regarding the definition of 'inducement'. The attack is mainly on the ground that it is too widely stated and even invoking the blessings of the Lord or to say that 'by His grace your soul shall be elevated' may come within the mischief of the term. Learned Government Advocate while agreeing that even holding out that an intagible benefit is to come may answer the definition, contends that the intention of the Legislature is not to transcend the ordinary concept of the term. We are of the view that the definition is capable of covering some of the methods of proselytising and though the concept of inducement can be a matter referable to 'morality', the wide definition is indeed open to reasonable objection on the ground that it surpasses the field of morality...

12. *Our conclusions, therefore, are :*

(1) Article 25 (1) guarantees propagation of religion and conversion is a part of the Christian religion.

(2) Prohibition of conversion by 'force' or by 'fraud' as defined by the Act would be covered by the limitation subject to which the right is guaranteed under Article 25 (1).

(3) The definition of the term 'inducement' is vague and many proselytizing activities may be covered by the definition and the restriction in Article 25 (1) cannot be said to cover the wide definition.

(4) The State Legislature has no power to enact the impugned legislation which in pith and substance is a law relating to religion. Entry No. 1 of either List II or List III does not authorise the impugned legislation.

(5) Entry 97 of List I applies.

On the conclusions, each of these three applications must succeed. We declare that the Act is *ultra vires* the Constitution and direct the issue of a write of mandamus to the opposite party—State Government not to give effect to the Act. The four criminal cases pending before the Magistrate at Gunupur are hereby quashed.

We make no order as to costs.

(Sd.) R. N. Misra

199. NASRAPUR STATEMENT (1972 A.D.)

From 9th to 16th August 1972, representatives of the Roman Catholic, Syrian Orthodox and Protestant Churches met in conference at Nasrapur. This National Faith and Order Study Conference was the first of its kind ever to be held in this country. The Agreed Statements, some of which are reproduced here, represent an important ecumenical development. *Christian Unity in India, Report of the National Faith and Order Study Conference, Nasrapur,* 1972, pp. 2-16.

Scripture, Tradition and Authority

Nature of Scripture

By 'Scripture' we today mean the Old Testament (with or without Apocrypha) and the New Testament. The message contained in Scripture is on the one hand a divine message, addressed to us in the power of the Holy Spirit, and on the other a message proclaimed by men. The heart of the scriptural message is the self-giving of God in Jesus Christ for the salvation of mankind.

The Old Testament which is primarily the history of God's dealings with Israel has come down to us as the Scripture of the first Christians. It is part of our collection of Scripture since it is the pre-supposition of the New Testament, while the New Testament, in turn, bears witness to the fulfilment of God's plan as attested in the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is authoritative for the Church in so far as it illuminates the mystery of Christ and God's eternal plan for the salvation of mankind as definitely revealed in the New Testament. The importance of the New Testament lies in that it is a divinely inspired record and primary witness to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ preached by the Apostles as well as to the life and faith of the Apostolic Church. Hence, Scripture occupies a unique and central place in her life, teaching and worship, being normative for all of the Church's ever-growing understanding, explanation, activation and development of the apostolic preaching.

There is a complex dialectic of actual relationship between Scripture and Revelation (or the Word of God or the Gospel.) Revelation is a prior reality to Scripture. Scripture is not simply identical with the Revelation which it proclaims and embodies, but precisely because Scripture is the divinely inspired record and witness to Revelation it shares in—though it is distinct from—the revelatory authority and power of the Gospel itself.

We acknowledge the diversity of the message of the New Testament including different presentations of the Church, yet we recognise the task of looking for the underlying unity and of relating the different emphases in Scripture by relying on the common mind of the Church and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Nature of Tradition

God, through the Christ-event (mission, life, death, resurrection of Jesus Christ) and the gift of the Holy Spirit, gathered together a community of Faith, love and worship, witnessing to and proclaiming the saving act of God in Jesus Christ. This is the beginning of a continuing process of Tradition and its expression and development. This Tradition was the guiding norm of the community in its oral preaching, life and worship. The New Testament is an authentic and authoritative crystallization of this Tradition. 'Tradition taken in this sense is actualized in the preaching of the Word, in the administration of the Sacraments and worship, in Christian teaching and theology, in mission and witness to Christ in the lives of the members of the Church... We can speak of the Christian Tradition (with a capital T), whose content is God's revelation and self-giving in Christ, present in the life of the Church. But this Tradition which is the work of the Holy Spirit is embodied in traditions (in the two senses of the word, both as referring to diversity in forms of expression, and in the sense of separate communions). The traditions in Christian history are distinct from, and yet connected with, the Tradition. They are the expressions and manifestations of the one truth and reality which is Christ.' (*The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal*, 1963, ed. P. C. Roger and L. Vischer, Association Press, New York, 1964, pp. 51 f.)

To set the slogans 'sola Scriptura' and 'Scripture and Tradition' against each other does not help us to arrive at the truth. Scripture is given to us as part of a continuous living Tradition. On the one hand it is read and understood within the Tradition. On the other hand it exercises a normative function in relation to Tradition.

The Structure of Visible Unity

1. We agree that, while faith is primarily an attitude of the heart towards God, it must find outward expression in word and life. While there may be a variety of forms of expression, there must be some visible structure of fellowship to bring together all who under differing forms express the one faith.

2. All forms of visible unity among Christians should include the following elements :

(*a*) an element of personal ministerial leadership which takes as its guide the loving care of Jesus the Good Shepherd for all his disciples.

(*b*) an element of corporate responsibility in which all the faithful share, which takes as its guide the teaching of St. Paul: 'You are the body of Christ and severally members thereof', and which aims to enable every member to contribute his share to the building up of the whole.

These two elements are interdependent and inseparable. Personal pastoral leadership must be exercised in brotherly concord with other leaders (collegiality) and within the corporate responsibility which is shared by the whole body (conciliarity). So also the councils of the Church need for their effective working a wise pastoral leadership.

3. We agree that these two principles should be applied to the ordering of the Church's life at all levels, local, regional, national and universal. However at each level there are matters on which we are not agreed and which need further study.

Priesthood, Ministry and Ordination

Points of Agreement

A. *Priest and People*

1. Christ, the Highpriest of the new Covenant, through the offering of his body once for all, has brought salvation to all (Heb. 10 : 12).

2. Hence our approach to the question of Priest and People has been in the context and framework of the priesthood of the whole people of God : 'In him all the faithful are made a holy and royal priesthood ; they offer spiritual sacrifices to God through Jesus Christ and they proclaim the perfections of him who has called them out of darkness into his marvellous light' (cf. I Pet. 2 : 5 & 9). Therefore there is no member who does not have a part in the mission of the whole body but each one ought to hallow Jesus in his heart (cf. I Pet, 3 : 15) and in the spirit of prophecy bear witness of Jesus (cf. Apo. 19 : 10) (Vatican II Decree on Ministry and the Life of Priest, Ch. 1, 2).

3. Within the priestly people there is a place for a special priesthood usually referred to as priest or minister set apart from the people for the people and charged in the name of Christ publicly authoritatively (i) to preach the good news (ii) to lead public worship (especially the Eucharist/the Lord's Supper) (iii) to guide the people in the way of salvation (iv) to loose and bind : ' His gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers for the equipment of the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ until we all attain to the unity of faith . . . to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ ' (Eph. 4 : 11 ff).

4. By virtue of baptism all Christian people have the privilege and duty to grow into the fulness of Christ ; as he himself said ' you therefore must be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect ' (Mt. 5 : 48).

5. While all who share this priesthood of Christ should witness to His holiness of life, the Priest/Minister is to be a model to the flock (I Pet. 5 : 3) setting himself as ' an example to believers in speech and behaviour, in love, fidelity and purity ' (I Tim. 4 : 12). This requires that he does not live a life apart from the life of the world : ' They cannot be of service to men if they remain strangers to the life and conditions of men. Their ministry requires that they live in this world among men . . . as good shepherds that know their sheep '. (Vatican II, Decree on the Ministry and the Life of Priests, Ch. 1, 3).

6. The calling of God into the special priesthood is effected by the Holy Spirit through the prayer of the Church with the laying on of hands and its official authorization on the basis of recognized special charisma and training. This is usually called ordination. The authority of the Priest/Minister is derived from this calling and not from the person's worthiness.

7. The relationship between the priestly people and the special priesthood is one of the mutual help and interdependence. The Priest/Minister has to see to it that the Apostolic Tradition among the people is preserved. He is responsible for the fulness and growth of the faith among the people ; he embodies for all the leadership of Christ, the Head of the Church, releasing the gifts of the priestly people and leading them into unity. On the other hand the priestly people uphold the Priest/Minister in his faith and work by prayer, co-operation and corrective love. They also help him to interpret the gospel for the needs of family life, culture, economic affairs, arts and professions, political institutions, international relations and the like.

B. *Ministerial Order*

1. Ordination is a rite of the Church whereby individuals, who are called of God, are set apart to the ministry of the Holy Spirit through prayer and the laying on of hands. The Church believes that in answer to this prayer God gives the gifts needed for the ministry, and the Church gives to those ordained commission and authority, together with ' the stewardship of the mysteries of Christ ' viz. the Word and the Sacraments and leadership in the Church for its mission to the world.

2. The ordained ministry, as we find it in the New Testament, is entrusted with the ministry of Word and Sacraments to the flock, and a commission to bring the ' other sheep ' into the fold.

3. The Church and the ordained ministry are inseparable one from the other, inasmuch as there could be no ministry without the Church and no Church without the ministry.

4. The New Testament does not offer a clear-cut pattern of the ordained ministry of the Church, but it does provide antecedents for such ministerial offices as the Bishop, the Presbyter and the Deacon, though not in any specific structure. The threefold ministry belongs to the very early tradition of the Church, and while its origins are to be traced in the New Testament, it is attested in a fully developed form at the beginning of the second century. The Church has thus exercised its freedom under the Holy Spirit to develop the forms of its ministry.

5. In the early tradition of the Church the ordained ministry, functioning in a collegial and conciliar manner under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, has the highest authority to make and to implement decisions.

6. The full life of the Church includes not only the ordained ministry but also the multiplicity of the other charismatic ministries, ' to equip God's people for work in His Service, to the building up of the Body of Christ ' (Eph. 4 : 11-13).

7. The proper characteristic of the Christian ministry is not that of lording it over, but of serving the flock and the world after the example of Christ, the Servant Lord.

8. The apostolic mission takes its origin from the Blessed Trinity. When the Lord sent forth the apostles, he said : ' As my Father has sent me, even so send I you ' (John 21 : 20). This mission has been continued through the centuries in the preaching of the faith and the building up of the fellowship. According to several Churches, the guarantee and the sign of continuity in faith and fellowship is the unbroken succession of episcopal ordination. Others do not accept this view.

Points for Further Study

1. Is ordination rightly described as a sacrament ?

2. In what way is the special priesthood distinct from and one with the general priesthood of all believers ?

3. There is need for a special study of the doctrine of the Eucharist/Lord's Supper, with particular reference to its sacrificial aspect and its relationship with the ordained ministry.

4. Is the Apostolic Episcopal Succession of the *esse* of the full ministry of the Church ?

5. Because of the frequent complaint of lack of time on the part of the Priest/Minister it seems necessary to examine an order of priorities in his occupations.

6. How far are women called to participate in particular ministries and the special priesthood ?

Mariology

This is only the report of an initial and very tentative dialogue. Any study of Mariology in depth, must take into account its connections with the doctrines of Christ, the Church and Man.

I. Points of Agreement

These emerged from the explicit witness of the Bible.

1. Like all men and women, Mary is a member of the human race, created by God, and in need of redemption by Christ.

2. She occupies a unique position within the Body of Christ because through her motherhood of Christ mankind's hope of redemption expressed throughout the Old Testament was fulfilled.

3. To call Mary 'Theotokos'—Mother of God or God-bearer—as the Orthodox and the Catholics do, makes clear the fact that Jesus is true God and true Man, ruling out wrong interpretations of the incarnation in the line of Docetism or Adoptionism. Many Churches of the Reformation and the Assyrian Church, however, preferring the title 'Mother of Christ', or the Scriptural 'Mother of Our Lord', equally assert that Jesus Christ is true God and true Man.

4. For all these reasons, Mary holds a special place of honour in our understanding of the Incarnation and the Redemption.

5. A full assessment of Mariology would require that we take into account biblical typology, as applied by the Bible itself to Mary, and further development by the Fathers of the Church.

II. Differing Viewpoints and Approaches

A. *The Orthodox Church* (the following statement refers to the Syrian Orthodox Church in India) :

They have a deep veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the life, piety and worship of the Church. She is the ever-Virgin Mother of God the Word, the unique witness of the Incarnation. Orthodox Mariology cannot be separated from Christology and Ecclesiology. In the thought and piety of the orthodox, the Blessed Virgin is the symbol par excellence of the Church, which is the bearer of Christ to the world. They do not believe in the Immaculate Conception ; they hold that the Blessed Virgin Mary was sanctified by the Annunciation, and that the redemptive action of our Lord Jesus Christ applies to her as to any other member of the Church. The Orthodox pray for the Blessed Virgin as well as invoke her intercession, which is very specially valued. The belief in the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is common in the life, piety and prayers of the faithful, but it is not held by the Church as a dogma necessary for salvation.

B. *The Lutheran Church :*

It does not have any official doctrine on Mary. However, its confessional books are not silent on our Lord's mother. Statements on her appear either in the Articles on the person of Christ or in contexts of Christ's redemptive work. She is ' most worthy of the most ample honours ' as ' Mother of God ', ' most blessed Virgin ' (in one place ' ever-Virgin '), and our example of faith and humility in accepting her unique vocation. All this finds an increasing place in Lutheran devotion, especially connected with the celebration of Advent and Christmas. On the other hand, the Lutheran Confessions firmly deny any redemptive power of Mary, which is believed to obscure Christ as the only Mediator between God and man. For this reason the Lutheran faith also denies Mary's sinlessness at any time of her life. She is reckoned as one of the justified sinners, though an outstanding believer, and in this sense may be called the ' Mother of the Church '. Christ's own sinlessness and full obedience would be obscured, if his manhood had already inherited sinlessness, as it were. Regarding her bodily Assumption into heaven, Lutherans miss evidence in the early Apostolic tradition, which for them has found normative crystallization in the N.T. for all beliefs necessary for salvation. They would, therefore, hold that her body sleeps with all the deceased faithful, awaiting with the whole Church the resurrection of the dead. They also do not find any ground in Scripture that departed souls may be implored for intercession with Christ, while they believe that all Christian believers may be asked for intercessory prayer to the Triune God.

C. *Other Churches of the Reformation :*

The Churches of the Reformation have no official doctrine concerning Mary and are at liberty to hold a variety of opinions. Among Anglicans, and therefore within the C.S.I. and C.N.I., there are some whose Mariology is similar to that of the Catholics or Orthodox Churches, though they do not hold any Marian dogma as necessary to salvation and, in any case, remain in communion with those whose views differ widely from their own.

In general, the Reformed approach to Mary is governed by such historical evidence as we have concerning her in the New Testament. Though the N. T. records no sin committed by her, and stresses her devotion and obedience, the prevailing view rejects any dogma of her sinlessness, either from conception or birth, and affirms that she was a member of sinful humanity needing redemption. Her justification by divine grace may have begun anticipatorily at the Annunciation, but in view of evidences of possible tension between her and Jesus in a few passages of the Gospel narrative, the supposition is that her salvation was only complete when she believed in her crucified and risen Son as Lord and Saviour.

Thus Reformed Churches adhere to the credal assertion that Mary was a virgin at Jesus' conception and birth, but many, probably the majority, of their members would reject the doctrine of her perpetual virginity, and interpret the scriptural text as implying that she consumated her marriage with Joseph in the normal way after the birth of Jesus and bore him several children. In view of the sanctity of marriage they would not regard this as in any way compromising her conformity to God's will.

With regard to belief in her bodily 'Assumption' at the end of her life on earth, they would assert that there is no historical evidence for this, the legend of the 'Assumption' having originated about the 5th century A.D. Some believe that she is already forever with her son and Lord in heaven ; others that she awaits the general resurrection at the last day ; they cannot accept any belief concerning her human body which is not anchored in history.

The majority of the members of these Churches do not invoke the virgin Mary in prayer, though most would regard her as a saint with a unique vocation. Many, particularly those of the Anglican tradition, observe the presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Annunciation as holy days, commemorating her with thanksgiving. Few call her by the title 'Mother of God', the majority regarding this title with some suspicion as failing to do justice to the humanity of Jesus.

D. *The Catholic Church :*

Catholics believe in the perpetual virginity of Mary as a sign of her total consecration to God, who made her body and her heart his dwelling-place.

Mary besides being the one who gave birth to Jesus, is also the ' Woman ' (cf. Jn. 2 : 4 ; 19 : 26 ; Rev. 12) whom Jesus associated most intimately with his work of redemption, in which she co-operated so perfectly, that her consent at the Annunciation, her faith, her receptiveness in receiving the word of God and her standing at the foot of the Cross make Catholics see in her a unique model of what the Church is called to be.

Although in need of redemption, in view of this predestined role in the Incarnation and Redemption that she had to play, she was sanctified from the first moment of her existence. Hence the Catholic belief in the Immaculate Conception. Similarly at the end of her life, sharing in a unique way in Christ's total victory over sin and death, she was bodily assumed into heaven.

Catholics also understand the words of the dying Lord, ' behold your Mother ' to imply that she is our Mother, who is venerated and whose intercession is invoked in the context of the communion of the Saints (cf. Vat. II. Constitution on the Church, Ch. 8).

200. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT C.S.I., C.N.I., MAR THOMA THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION (1975 A.D.)

A theological commission representing the Church of South India, the Church of North India and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church met at Madras on 16th January 1975 and at Bangalore on the 3rd and 4th June 1975 to discuss the question of their closer unity. The following recommendations were adopted for consideration of the respective churches. The most notable feature of this document is the proposal for the establishment of an all-India United Church to be known as ' The Bharath Christian Church '. *Minutes of the Joint Theological Commission of the Church of South India, the Church of North India and the Mar Thoma Syrian Church*, Appendix VI, pp. 41-42.

1. Our relationship of full communion is basically a relationship in and through Jesus Christ, expressed in the theological agreements on Scripture, the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, the historic Creeds as witness to the Faith, and an episcopate which is both ' historic ' and ' constitutional '

2. The present theological agreement on the above topics among the three Churches is sufficient to warrant further growing

together in unity. There is, however, need for a continuing discussion of the historic Faith and Order of the Church in the context of Christ's Mission to India today, and of the unity of the Church in the wider setting of the unity of mankind as a whole.

3. The growing together of the three Churches needs to be expressed through structures which will enable our Churches already in full communion to learn further from each other, and unite in projects of service with particular attention to the hopes and aspirations of our fellowmen and women in India for fuller life, human dignity and social justice and of witness to salvation and the destiny of man in Christ.

4. As part of the new structure, we recommend to our Churches the following :

(*a*) a joint Advisory Council of bishops, clergy and laity to consider issues connected with the life of the Church, to express our joint concern for the mission of Christ in our country today, to give concrete expression to the relationship of full communion already existing, and also to continue or initiate negotiations for a wider manifestation of the unity of the Church, ' so that the world may believe '.

(*b*) a conference of all bishops to consider the recommendations and the proposals of the joint Advisory Council and plan for their implementation at local, regional and national levels and to foster the growth and welfare of the Church.

(*c*) suitable provision may also be made by the joint Advisory Council where necessary and possible to safeguard the expression of the diversities within the unity of the Church.

5. Finally, the joint Theological Commission recommends to our three Churches—C.S.I., C.N.I. and M.T.C. :—

(*a*) that the name of the Church to which the three Churches will belong be ' The Bharath Christian Church '.

(*b*) that when all the three Churches have accepted this recommended scheme each of them should take steps according to their own constitutional procedures to declare themselves part of the Bharath Christian Church.

(*c*) that on a date to be agreed upon by the highest governing bodies of the three Churches a solemn declaration be made that they belong together in the Bharath Christian Church.

While we make these recommendations we reaffirm our hope that the goal of the Union of our Churches is the coming together in visible fellowship of all those who believe in Jesus Christ in our country.

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